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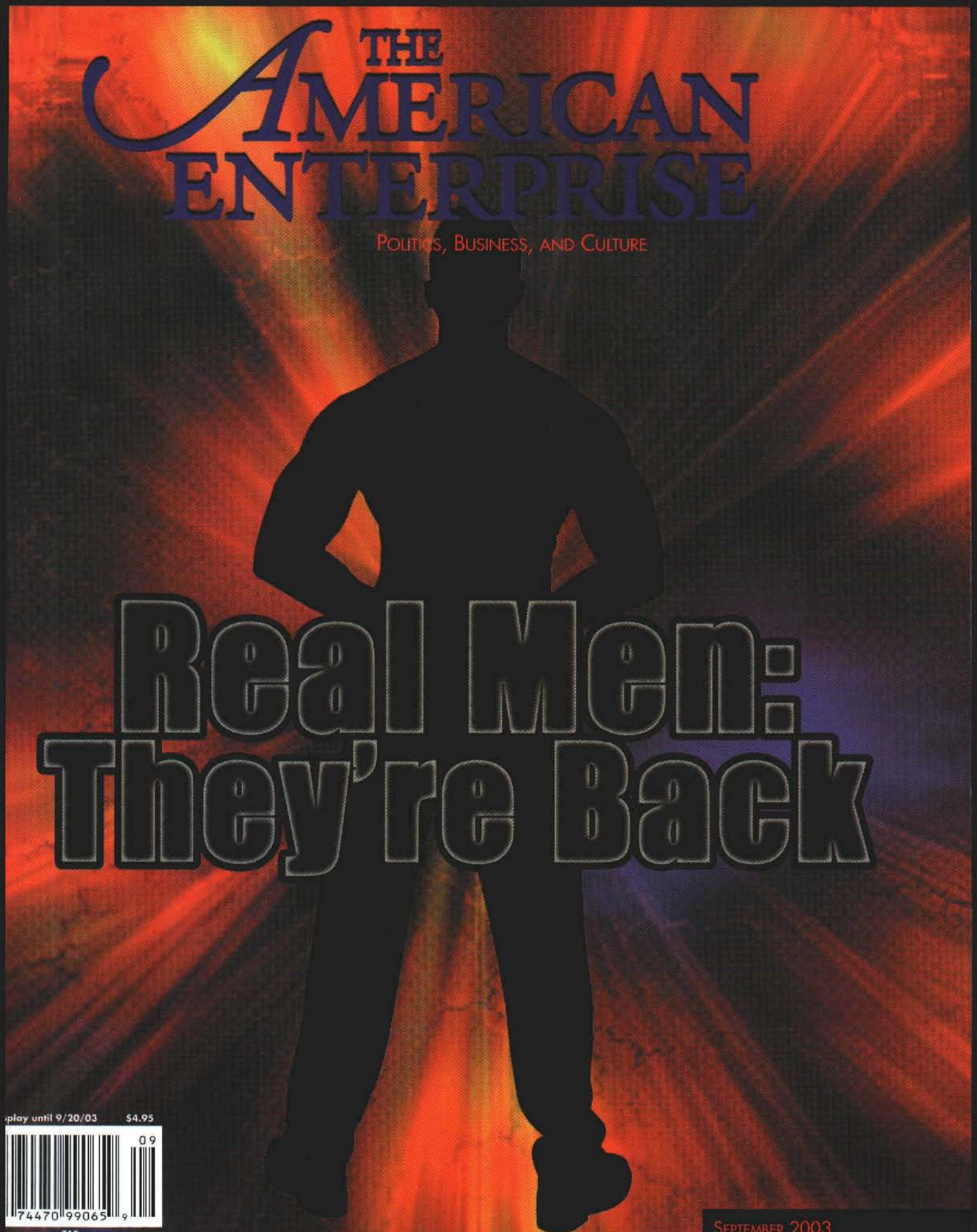

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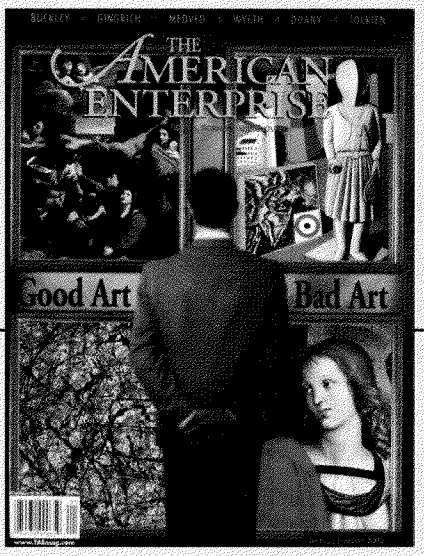

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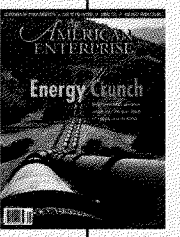

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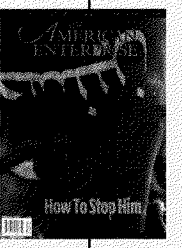

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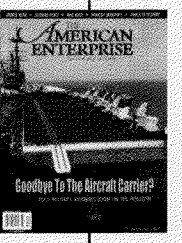

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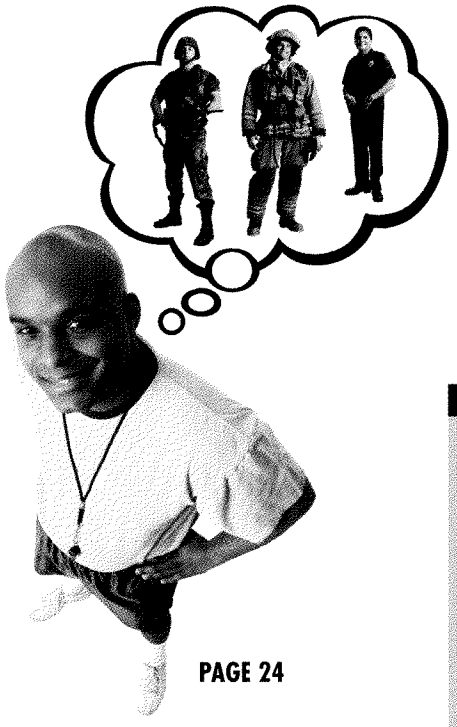

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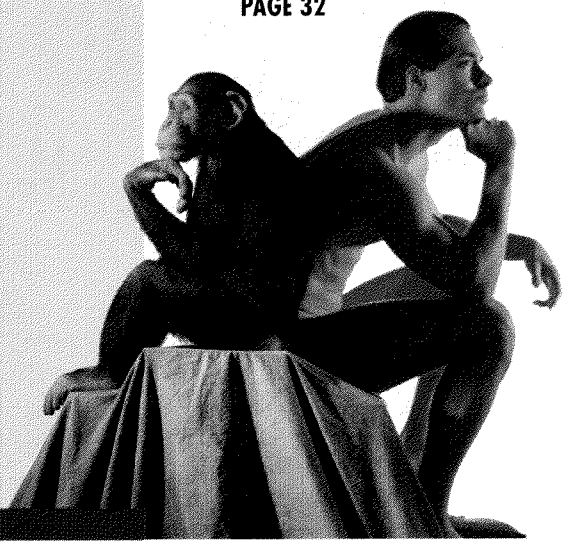

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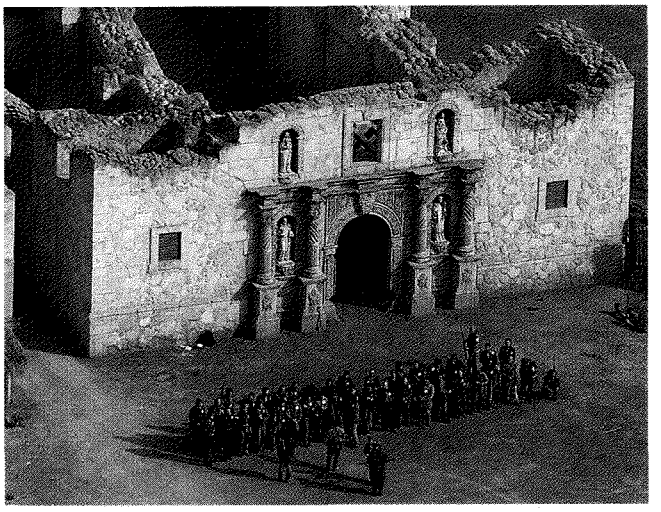

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Bird's Eye

Christina Hoff Sommers

Men—It's in Their Nature

This past spring, my son spent a month in Israel with his senior class. Only one activity disappointed him. While camping in the Negev Desert, special counselors from a progressive-socialist kibbutz paid a visit and led the students through a sensitivity exercise. The students were told to walk out into the desert until they were completely alone. The counselors (mostly American-born) supplied them with a pencil, paper, matches, and a candle and instructed them to absorb the quiet calm of the desert, to record their feelings, and to "find themselves."

The girls happily complied. Most of the boys did not. They scattered into the desert, quickly became bored, and sought out each other's company. Then they threw the pencils and paper into a pile, and used the candles and matches to start a little bonfire. The boys loved it; the sensitivity trainers were horrified. They viewed the boys' behavior as an expression of primitive violence—a lethal masculinity straight from *The Lord of the Flies*.

Later in the evening, the students sat in a circle while the girls read their impassioned reactions to the "haunting loneliness" of the desert; the boys could barely suppress laughter—confirming once again the worst fears of the sensitivity trainers. Gender equity experts in America's schools, universities, government agencies, and major women's groups would share the distress of the kibbutz counselors, having spent more than a decade trying to resocialize boys away from "toxic masculinity."

In a great number of American schools, gender reformers have succeeded in expunging many activities that young boys enjoy: dodge ball, cops and robbers, reading or listening to stories about battles and war heroes. A daycare center in North Carolina was censured by the State Division of Child Development for letting boys play with two-inch green Army men. The division director described the toys as "potentially dangerous if children use them to act out violent themes."

Activities deemed "safe" by the gender equity experts and the teachers they inspire include quilting, games without scores, and stories about brave girls and boys who learn to cry. The goal is to resocialize boys, freeing them from male stereotypes, and, ultimately, to promote genuine equality between the sexes—which for the reformers means sameness.

But decades of research in neuroscience, endocrinology, genetics, and developmental psychology, strongly suggest that masculine traits are hard-wired. There are exceptions, but here are the rules: Males have better spatial reasoning skills, females better verbal skills. Males are greater risk-takers, females are more nurturing. Boys like action, competitive rough-housing, and inanimate objects, and they are the one group of Americans who do not spend a lot of time talking about their feelings.

Try as they may, parents, teachers, and gender facilitators have not been successful in rooting out male behavior they regard as harmful. An "equity facilitator" tried to persuade a group of nine-year-old boys in a Baltimore public school to accept the idea of playing with baby dolls. According to one observer, "Their reaction was so hostile, the teacher had trouble keeping order." And then there was Jimmy. At age 11, this San Francisco sixth-grader was made to contribute a square to a class quilt "celebrating women we admire."

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He chose to honor tennis player Monica Seles who, in 1993, was stabbed on the court by a deranged fan of Steffi Graf. Jimmy handed in a muslin square festooned with a tennis racket and a bloody dagger. His square may be unique in the history of quilting, but his teacher did not appreciate its originality and rejected it. American classrooms are full of Jimmys.

Efforts to change boys like Jimmy or my son and his bonfire companions will be difficult if not impossible. Nature is obdurate on some matters. While environment and socialization do play a significant role, scientists are beginning to pinpoint the precise biological correlates to many typical gender differences. A 2001 special issue of *Scientific American* reviewed the growing evidence that children's play preferences are, in large part, hormonally determined. Researchers confirmed what parents experience all the time: Even with counter-conditioning, boys and girls gravitate toward very different toys. (See the article by Iain Murray on pages 34 and 35, which lays out some of the new scientific findings on sex differences.)

The entire anthropological record offers not a single example of a society where females have better spatial reasoning skills and males better verbal skills, where females are fixated on objects and men on feelings, or where males are physically docile and females aggressive. In the face of what we know, it is altogether unreasonable to deny the biological basis for distinctive male and female preferences and abilities.

Does this mean biology is destiny? As anthropologist Lionel Tiger (who is part of the male symposium beginning on page 24) says, "biology is not destiny, but it is good statistical probability." There is still room for equity. A fair and just society offers equality of opportunity to all. But it cannot promise, and should not try to enforce, sameness. The natural differences between men and women suggest there will never be mathematical parity in all fields; far more men than women will choose to be mechanics, engineers, or soldiers. Early childhood education, family medicine, and social work will continue to be dominated by women.

Boys will prefer bonfires to diaries and any teacher who requires them to contribute squares to a quilt should brace herself for insensitive images of monsters, dangerous animals, and weaponry. The male tendency to be competitive, risk-loving, more narrowly focused, and less concerned with feelings has consequences in the real world. It could explain why there are more males at the extremes of success and failure: more male CEOs, more males in maximum security prisons.

Of course, boys' natural masculinity must be tempered. Social theorist Hannah Arendt is believed to have said that every year civilization is invaded by millions of tiny barbarians—they are called children. All societies confront the problem of civilizing their children, particularly the male ones. History teaches that masculinity constrained by morality is powerful and constructive; it also teaches that masculinity without ethics is dangerous and destructive.

We have a set of proven social practices for raising young men. The traditional approach is through character education to develop a young man's sense of honor and help him become a considerate, conscientious human being. Sociologists make an important distinction between pathological and healthy masculinity. Boys who exhibit aberrational masculinity define their manhood through anti-social and destructive acts; instead of protecting the vulnerable, they exploit them. Healthy masculinity is the opposite. Males who possess it—the vast majority of American boys and men—strive to be helpful and to achieve. They sublimate their natural aggression into sports, hobbies, and work. They build rather than destroy. And they do not exploit women and children, they protect them.

Efforts to civilize boys with honor codes, character education, manners, and rules of good sportsmanship are necessary and effective, and fully consistent with their masculine natures. Efforts to feminize them with dolls, quilts, non-competitive games, girl-centered books, and feelings exercises will fail; though they will succeed in making millions of boys quite unhappy.

Dissident feminist Camille Paglia is one of the few scholars who values maleness: "Masculinity is aggressive, unstable, combustible. It is also the most creative cultural force in history. When I cross…any of America's great bridges, I think—men have done this. Construction is a sublime male poetry."

This sublime poetry has been unappreciated in American society for more than a quarter of a century. But that appears to be changing. The awesome display of masculine courage shown by the firefighters and policemen at Ground Zero, the heroic soldiers fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq, the focused determination and exemplary leadership of President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, and General Tommy Franks, have rekindled in Americans an appreciation for masculine virtues. Many courageous and even heroic women took part in all these endeavors. But fighting enemies and protecting the nation are overwhelmingly male projects.

The gender activists who fill our schools and government agencies will continue with their efforts to make boys more docile and emotional. But fewer and fewer Americans will support them. Maleness is back in fashion. And one reason is that Americans are increasingly aware that traditional male traits such as aggression, competitiveness, risk-taking and stoicism—constrained by virtues of valor, honor and self-sacrifice—are essential to the well-being and safety of our society.

BIRD'S EYE guest author Christina Hoff Sommers is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and the author of *Who Stole Feminism?* and *The War Against Boys.*

Karl Zinsmeister will return in our next issue.

This issue of *The American Enterprise* was commissioned by Karl Zinsmeister and edited by Karina Rollins and Eli Lehrer.

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Sidelights

Fifty percent of Americans believe **Hillary Rodham Clinton**'s new memoir *Living History* should be filed in the history section of libraries and bookstores, according to CNN/USA Today/ Gallup Poll. Twenty-two percent believe it belongs in the fiction section. ❦ At a speech in Washington, D.C., PBS's **Bill Moyers** stated that the Republicans are planning the "deliberate, intentional destruction of the United States of America." ❦ A proposed mural at the University of California, Riverside has offended some at the campus. Academic affairs director **Elisa Haro** saw the images of Shakespearean actors as "pilgrim invaders" that reminded her "of my colonization, and I don't like that." There were also complaints that the cranes in the mural were white, and that there were no same sex couples. ❦ A UCLA study found no significant correlation between secondhand smoke and death due to coronary heart disease or lung cancer. ❦ The European Central Bank predicts the European Union's economy will grow by only 0.7 percent this year. ··· Unemployment in Germany has risen to 4.49 million. Germany has a population of over 82 million and is the biggest contributor to the E.U. budget.

An exiled Burmese girl wrote a letter to the *Bangkok Post* asking **George Bush** and **Tony Blair** to "please eliminate the Burmese dictators immediately. We need only one missile. Help us, please." ❦ The number of terror attacks in the world fell sharply in 2002, according to the State Department's Patterns of Global Terrorism report. There were 199 terrorist attacks last year, a 44 percent drop from 2001. This is the lowest figure in over 30 years. ❦ In Western Europe, 35 percent of software is pirated, in Eastern Europe it's 71 percent, concludes the Business Software Alliance in its annual survey on software piracy, estimating the global cost of software piracy last year at $13.08 billion.

"What is the point of having an opinion if you don't e-mail it to everyone you know?"

The dictator of Belarus, **Alexander Lukashenko**, decreed that the heads of companies, unions, and other organizations may not call themselves "presidents." Only Lukashenko himself may have that title. ❦ The Rift Valley Institute reported that, over the last 20 years, more than 11,000 people have been kidnapped in slave raids in the Sudan. Only about 500 have made it back home. ··· Musician **Bob Geldof**, oragnizer of the 1980s Live Aid charity, told the London *Guardian* that "the Bush administration is the most radical—in a positive sense —in its approach to Africa since Kennedy." Geldof described former President **Bill Clinton** as "a good guy, but he did f--- all" to help Africa. ❦ The *New York Times* reported that incest is a serious health concern in Saudi Arabia, noting that in some parts of the country "more than half of the marriages are between close relatives." Inbreeding can produce such genetic disorders as sickle cell anemia, spinal muscular atrophy, diabetes, and possibly deafness and muteness.

Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, dean of Islamic Studies at the University of Qatar, issued a fatwa permitting women to carry out suicide attacks, "even without the permission of her husband, and the son without the consent of his parents." ··· An Australian and a German caught kissing in Dubai were sentenced to six-month jail terms, which were suspended under condition they not do it again. ❦ After weeks of striking and a halt to garbage collection, city cleaners in Marseille, France resorted to spraying the streets with lemon-grass perfume to diffuse the stench from mountains of festering trash. ❦ Sales of French wine in the U.S. dropped 13 percent over the last year.

Two thirds of Israelis believe Israel could co-exist with a Palestinian state, according to a Pew Research Center poll. Only 17 percent of Palestinians think that is possible. ··· "I'm making a conscious decision to take this whole Judaism thing seriously," Geraldo Rivera told the *Washington Post*. "I think the Jews need me right now."

—BB

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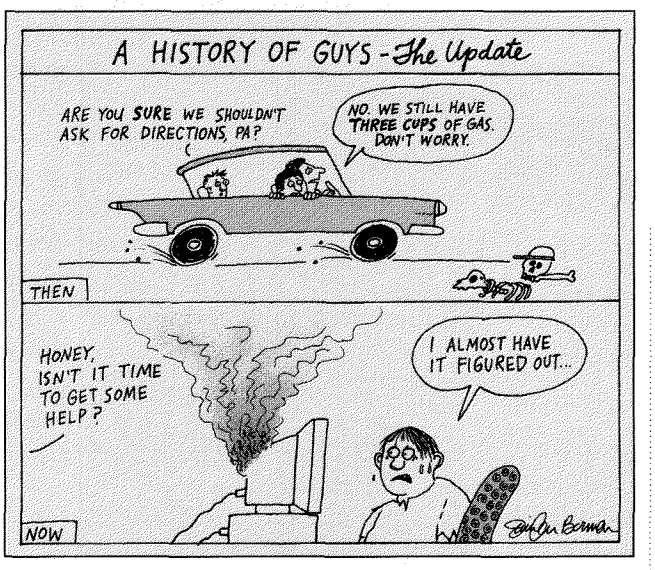

BELGIUM WAFFLES

An old adage says that democracies do not wage war against each other. Democratic nations, nonetheless, are finding a new way to express their disdain for their allies' foreign policies: They take the heads of government to court.

Since 1993, Belgium, through its "anti-atrocity law," has claimed universal jurisdiction for crimes "so serious that they amount to an offense against the whole of humanity." Belgium claims the right to prosecute such crimes regardless of the nationalities and whereabouts of the claimants or the defendants. As a result, the Belgian court system has become a forum for aggrieved activists to have their political views recognized on the world stage. Suits have been filed against true tyrants like Fidel Castro and Saddam Hussein, as well as democratic leaders like Tony Blair and George W. Bush.

Claimants include Belgium's state prosecutor, atrocity victims, and bystanders. In a recent suit against U.S. General Tommy Franks, four doctors with Medicine for the Third World, a Belgian relief organization, alleged that the U.S. military showed disregard for civilian life in Baghdad.

Universal jurisdiction suits can also become quite vindictive. In 2001, three lawyers filed a suit against Ariel Sharon and other top Israeli officials on behalf of 28 survivors of the Sabra and Shatila massacres in 1982. Denying the charges, Israeli officials have threatened to prosecute Belgian officials for their admitted role in the 1961 murder of Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Congo.

Early this summer, the United States put pressure on Belgium to make its law friendlier to the leaders of allied nations. On June 12, Donald Rumsfeld, who has also had charges filed against him, warned Belgium that its law is likely to dissuade world leaders from visiting the country. The same day, he froze funding for the construction of a new NATO headquarters in Brussels.

On June 22, Belgium announced plans to roll back its claim of universal jurisdiction. Under the new rules, only cases directly involving Belgians may be heard. Belgian officials denied that U.S. pressure is responsible for the change in the law, insisting that they independently decided that the law was often applied unjustly.

Yet even as Belgium revises its law, questions about universal jurisdiction remain. In that vein, the United States should probably take a fresh look at its 1789 Alien Tort Claims Act, which has been used in recent years to prosecute multinational corporations for their alleged connections to human rights abuses in foreign countries. The law, originally intended to prosecute pirates, now helps anti-globalization activists attack multinational corporations they dislike.

Universal jurisdiction not only fosters hostilities between government leaders, it also has the potential to aggravate both economic and foreign policy interests. Nations should return to a legal system that mandates a territorial link in order for prosecution to take place, so that one day an adage might read: "Democratic nations do not take each other to court."

—**Courtney Richard** *is a* TAE *intern.*

AMERICAN IRON LADY

Phyllis Schlafly's critics have accused her of hypocrisy for celebrating traditional women's roles while pursuing an activist career. But she recently told the *Washington Times* that there is no contradiction.

"Feminism is not about female achievement," Mrs. Schlafly says. "If it was, you would hear them praising Margaret Thatcher. Feminism is about developing the notion of victimology. They want to paint women as oppressed victims, kept down by men and this oppressive patriarchal society. I think that's why they underestimated me, because they really don't believe traditional women can accomplish what I accomplished."

What Schlafly accomplished is a lot. She spent World War II working night shifts in the biggest ammunition plant in the world. "I went through college working as a gunner, firing machine guns," Mrs. Schlafly explains. "I did all the tests of the ammunition before it could be

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PLEASE WRITE

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All letters receive our careful consideration, and many will be published (unless you tell us your comments are not for attribution).

We look forward to hearing from you.

accepted by the government." After graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Washington University in St. Louis, she added a master's degree in political science from Harvard. Then she earned a law degree.

While raising her six children, Schlafly started a grassroots political movement and penned a book (*A Choice Not an Echo*) which helped kick off America's conservative revival. She also wrote or edited 20 other books. Her ten-year battle to prevent the enshrinement of unisex logic in the U.S. Constitution ended with her nearly single-handed defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1982.

Not bad for "just a housewife."

CANCER SCARE? DON'T SWEAT IT

If your wife or sweetheart is more a sweat-hard, or if her underarms begin to look more like those of a gorilla than the clean-shaven armpits you remember, all is not lost: She has undoubtedly been taken in by one of the most cruel cancer myths making the rounds on the Internet and in sloppy scare pieces in the press.

Dire warnings that underarm antiperspirants can cause breast cancer abound. The fright reports have suggested that the products we all use to avoid B.O. contain dangerous substances, which can be absorbed into a woman's body through tiny razor nicks caused by underarm shaving.

But scientists at the National Cancer Institute smelled a rat in these reports. The NCI says it is not aware of a shred of evidence or research to support any link between the use of underarm antiperspirants and breast cancer. The Food and Drug Administration, which regulates food and cosmetics, also has no data to support the cancer claim. The conclusions of a study reported in the *Journal of the National Cancer Institute*, which looked for any relationship between breast cancer and underarm antiperspirants showed no increased risk for breast cancer in women who reported shaving with a razor and using underarm products.

—**Tait Trussell** *and his wife are longtime users of antiperspirants. They are both healthy and smell nice.*

ELECTRIC DREAMS COME TRUE

Toyota motors recently unveiled an unassuming mid-sized sedan. The 2004 Prius, a streamlined jellybean-like car, stacks up nicely against cars like the Ford Taurus, Honda Accord, or Chevrolet Malibu when it comes to features and amenities. From the standpoint of most passers-by, an oversized hatchback is its most daring feature.

Look beneath the hood, however, and things get more complex. Thanks to a hybrid electric drive system that uses batteries when the car is moving slowly, and a gasoline engine on the highways, it never needs to be plugged in, promises fuel mileage over 55 miles per gallon (similar conventional cars get about 30), and greatly reduced pollution. It also features a brand-new electronic steering system. The 2004 Prius will sell for only a few thousand dollars more than similar models that lack the same high-tech wizardry and guzzle a lot more gas.

While Toyota has marketed a Prius model since 1999, that one is best classified as an experiment: It loses money for Toyota and is a lot smaller than the top-selling midsize sedans (see *TAE*, September 2001, "The Car of the Future?"). The new Prius, which goes on sale this fall, could well turn a profit for the company. And, like every innovation that the Japanese auto industry creates, it's a private-sector effort: Even the insanely bureaucratic Japanese government stayed out of Toyota's hair when it came to developing the Prius.

The United States government, on the other hand, tried to persuade auto companies to build something like the Prius. So far, taxpayers and car buyers are still waiting for a payoff. Indeed, the new Prius is almost exactly what former Vice President Al Gore and a coalition of auto-industry executives envisioned when they announced the U.S. Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles in February 1993.

The Partnership, an attempt at a less-intense version of central planning called industrial policy, aimed to produce a "supercar": a mid-sized family sedan that got over 60 miles per gallon. Gore said that such cars would go on sale after 2004. Despite over a billion dollars in government spending and research, the

JUST SIXTEEN WORDS

"It is 16 words, and has become an enormously overblown issue," said national security advisor Condoleeza Rice, dismissing the faulty statement about Iraqi attempts to buy uranium from Africa in President Bush's last State of the Union Address.

Maybe it would be a good idea if, before the next Address, we were informed in advance which words of the speech don't count.

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first U.S. automaker's hybrid sedan won't be available until at least 2005. Even environmentalists rebelled when the project came out in support of high-pollution diesel engines.

The Bush administration has revised the effort and cut its budget slightly but it still forges ahead: It now focuses on minivans, pickups, and SUVs. While American automakers rolled out prototype hybrid minivans and SUVs at a White House event this past February, they still won't hit the market until this fall. And even then, these new models promise little more than a 15 percent fuel economy boost and marginally reduced pollution in return for a price tag of up to $5,000 more than comparable models with conventional engines.

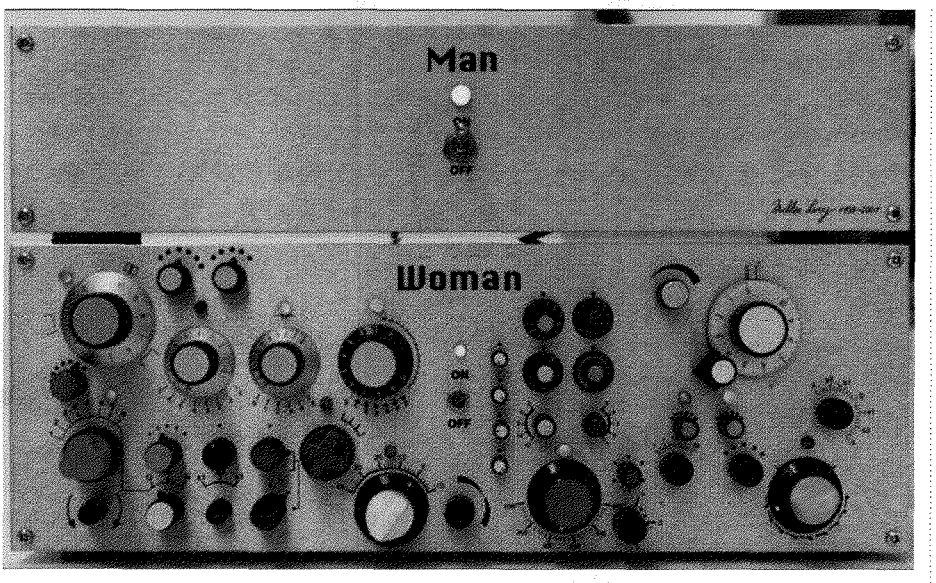
But Americans who want one can now buy one of Al Gore's supercars immediately—provided they're willing to shop at a Japanese dealership.

REAL SEX-ED POLLS

A recent poll suggests that parents aren't as gung-ho about comprehensive sex education (as opposed to abstinence-based education) as is commonly believed.

The libertine Sexuality Information and Education Council of the U.S. (SIECUS), likes to state that 81 percent of parents support curricula that teach children about "safe sex." But according to the new poll, commissioned by the Coalition for Adolescent Sexual Health and conducted by Zogby International, 61.1 percent of parents surveyed "disapprove or strongly disapprove" of this type of curriculum. By contrast, 73.5 percent of the parents "approve or strongly approve of abstinence-centered sex education."

The difference seems to lie in the way the poll questions are phrased. While previous surveys tended to pose general questions, the Zogby poll asked parents about specific aspects of various sex-ed programs. Zogby cited parts of the Guidelines for Comprehensive Sexuality Education, which include masturbation instructions for five- to eight-year-olds, put together by SIECUS, and asked whether parents approved or disapproved of them.



A Kaiser Family Foundation poll in 2000 asked parents whether "how to use condoms" should be discussed in high school classrooms (right after asking them if students should be taught how to protect themselves against sexually transmitted diseases); not surprisingly 84 percent said yes. But when Zogby's pollsters took an actual lesson from an "abstinence plus condoms" curriculum and asked if 12- to 15-year-olds should be encouraged to "use condoms as a method of foreplay" and "think up a sexual fantasy using condoms," 80 percent of parents strongly disapproved.

The Zogby poll also showed that even parents who generally approve of "safe sex" instructions for students experience a change of heart when their own children are involved. According to a report from Baptist Press, "Only 46 percent of parents opposed high school students being taught they can obtain contraceptives without parental approval, but the opposition increased to 70 percent when the question was personalized to their children."

—**Gina Dalfonzo** *is editor of* BreakPoint Online.

NOBEL PEACE POSTURING

In 2000, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to then-South Korean president Kim Dae-Jung. He was honored with the prize largely because of a celebrated June 2000 meeting with North Korean president Kim Jong-Il, in which the two leaders vowed that their countries would put their long years of bitter division behind them and start down the tough road to reunification. As the Nobel folks themselves put it, Kim Dae-Jung won the Nobel prize for many things, but for "peace and reconciliation with North Korea in particular."

All this seemed good and peaceful and reconciliatory until now, roughly three years later, when the official word came out that Kim Dae-Jung actually *bought* his historic meeting with Kim Jong-Il. According to a South Korean independent counsel who investigated the matter for 50 days, the South Korean government secretly funneled $100 million to North Korea shortly before the celebrated summit, essentially purchasing the high-profile meeting, perhaps to enhance the outgoing South Korean president's image.

The moral of the story? Do not let your vigilance wane and start putting any stock in the Nobel Peace Prize, for it remains as empty and worthless an award as ever.

Kim Dae-Jung may be the first Nobel

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Peace Prize recipient to actually have shelled out cold hard cash for the honor, but as far as being an undeserving winner whose main contribution to peace has been aggressive self-aggrandizement rather than actual achievement, Mr. Kim fits right in with his recent fellow Nobel winners.

Take last year's peace prize recipient, Jimmy Carter. He was awarded the Nobel for, among other things, "decades of untiring effort to find peaceful solutions to international conflicts." Which international conflicts did Carter actually solve? Well, the conflict with North Korea, for one—except for the part where the North Koreans kept working on a nuclear bomb while in talks with Carter. The North Koreans now fully admit to quickly ditching the no-nukes framework they signed with the U.S. under Carter's guidance.

One could say that Carter has been equally successful in bridging the gap between the U.S. and Cuba. First he endeared Cuba to all Americans by playing the Good Samaritan and relieving Castro of thousands of Cuban criminals (to whom Carter granted refugee status in the States). Then he went there last year and called vehemently for an end to the U.S. embargo on Cuba—the embargo that remains in full effect today.

And did Carter ever work wonders with that Iranian hostage crisis during his Presidency. He did…well, nothing, actually; and the 52 Americans being held hostage in Tehran were not released until Ronald Reagan was President.

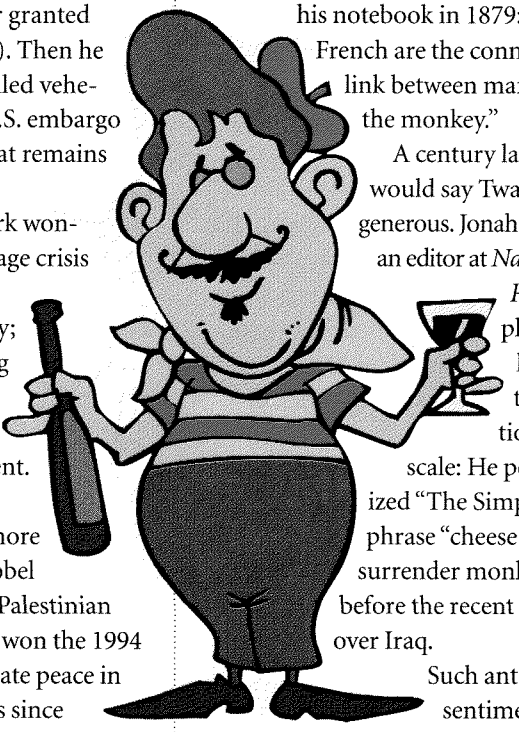
But at least Carter had good intentions. An even more deserving winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, of course, was Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Arafat won the 1994 award "for his efforts to create peace in the Middle East." Arafat has since been condemned as an active supporter of terrorism, criticized by even the likes of Hillary Clinton for not putting terrorists behind bars, and has been exiled from the ongoing U.S.-backed peace process because, as President Bush put it last year, "Peace requires a new and different [Palestinian] leadership…leaders not compromised by terror." The *San Francisco Chronicle* recently broke the story that Arafat is raising $2.5 million to fund continued terror attacks on Israel and disrupt new prime minister Mahmoud Abbas' attempts at peace. The money is said to have come from that other prince of peace, Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, who is no doubt waiting for his own turn as a Nobel winner.

Yes, one might be tempted to accuse Kim Dae-Jung of cheapening the Nobel by buying it with paid PR tricks. But such an indictment would be unfair.

The Nobel Peace Prize's currency is already as low as it could possibly go.

—**Marni Soupcoff**'s *column appears Mondays on TAEmag.com.*

A HISTORY OF FRENCH-HATING



Mark Twain made this observation in his notebook in 1879: "The French are the connecting link between man and the monkey."

A century later, some would say Twain was too generous. Jonah Goldberg, an editor at *National Review*, places them lower on the evolutionary scale: He popularized "The Simpsons" phrase "cheese-eating surrender monkeys" long before the recent standoff over Iraq.

Such anti-French sentiments are nothing new. There is something about the country that provokes more complaints than any other nation. *The International Herald Tribune* recently rediscovered a U.S. government pamphlet issued to troops in the aftermath of World War II. It was titled "112 Gripes About the French." Troops stationed in East Asia got a leaner "29 Gripes About the Filipinos."

Today, experts on France, naturally sympathetic to the place, are trying to trace the roots of what many of them call American "francophobia."

"There is a kind of a rivalry between France and the United States," says Jean-Philippe Mathy, professor of French at the University of Illinois. In the wake of the French and American revolutions, the two countries have presented competing models of democracy to the world.

The French model "is more radical,

THE LEFT WING

Lawrence O'Donnell, a former aide to Senator Pat Moynihan and occasional TV pundit, was tapped by TV writer/producer Aaron Sorkin to serve as a consultant on NBC's "The West Wing." That led to O'Donnell's getting his own show this year, "Mr. Sterling." Here he is being interviewed on Howard Kurtz's CNN media show, "Reliable Sources" [on May 25]:

KURTZ: "One thing these programs have in common: Conservatives are practically invisible. President Bartlett in "The West Wing" is a Democrat. Martin Sheen [who plays Bartlet], in fact, made anti-war ads before the invasion of Iraq. "Mr. Sterling" is a California liberal based loosely on Jerry Brown. Why aren't there any Republicans?"

O'DONNELL: "You will never get that TV show. You'll never, ever get the Republican TV show. The Writers Guild of America, my union, is at a minimum, 99 percent leftist liberal, and, like me, socialist. And we don't know how to write it. We don't."

Well, at least he's honest.

—from the newsletter of the Conservative Book Club

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centralized, and gives birth to socialism," Mathy says. It places its hopes on ideal notions of humanity—the French "want to completely reform humankind on the basis of abstract reasoning." It is also strictly secular.

The American version, in contrast, gives a role to religion, stresses pragmatism, and emphasizes decentralization. It is suspicious of human engineering.

"In the mirror of France, many Americans see what they are grateful for not having become," writes Mathy.

The anti-French mood is not confined to the U.S. In Belgium, the Flemings have long complained that the francophone Walloons are lazy and linguistic chauvinists. The problems in Canada are well known. And in last year's UPS Europe Business Monitor survey, French companies topped the list of those with whom E.U. businessmen find it hard to work.

Most experts contacted by *TAE*, however, believe that the anti-French feelings in the U.S. are different. "What's important about the American attitude is the emotional dimension of it," says Verdaguer. "For instance, you hear about betrayal" and ingratitude. "It's a way to vent anger." In contrast, the European "francophobia" tends to be more ideological and intellectualized —and less forthright.

And in the U.S. there is no backlash against "French-bashing." "This is probably explained by the absence of any large French-American community in the U.S.," Vaisse wrote recently. At present, American critics of France are basking in the rare suspension of PC censorship. Through their animal metaphors and jibes, they are exercising a definitive American freedom—free speech.

—**Alex Fak** *is a* TAE *intern.*

LIVING LIES

Hillary Rodham Clinton's new book, *Living History*, weaves a tale that only the most gullible will be able to swallow whole. Unfortunately for Clinton, many will find little value in reading a book that so thoroughly strains credulity.

The book reveals nothing new about the junior senator from New York. Clinton presents herself as a harmless schoolgirl, skipping through life innocently and prayerfully, even as scandals and fraud seem to erupt around her constantly. She claims not to understand why accusations of corruption and dishonesty are thrown her way. She is startled, bewildered, and hurt that people would distrust her and her husband. Before they came to Washington, she mourns, they used to think of themselves as good people. That nasty right-wing conspiracy changed everything.

The naive-girl picture is simply not convincing. It is impossible to believe that a woman of the senator's intelligence could be as oblivious to her surroundings as Clinton claims to have been. And her book betrays the true nature of Clinton's character—she is a woman who serves her political ambitions at any cost.

Perhaps the best case in point is how Senator Clinton sacrifices her allegedly much-loved husband to her Presidential aspirations. Clinton seems to have no concern about any embarrassment to her spouse from her descriptions of certain Monica-related episodes. While she gushes about her husband in early chapters of the book (she keeps "falling in love with him all over again" and "lighting up" when he enters the room), the discussions about Monica are harsh. Of course Mr. Clinton deserves it, but would a woman who truly supports her husband berate him as Clinton does in *Living History*? This public Monica discussion does not fit the picture of a woman trying to save her marriage. It does fit the picture of a woman who would like to run for President freed of her husband's scandals.

As Clinton relates the story of her life in the White House, it is clear that she has always valued her own political agenda above that of her husband's. This is not a post-Monica, get-back-at-philandering-hubby phenomenon. Phrases such as "my White House agenda" and "my domestic policy agenda" permeate the book. On trips overseas, she discusses certain policies with world leaders, not because she had been asked to do so on behalf of the administration, but because "I favored" the policies. She acknowledges that she told the President on multiple occasions that if he signed a certain bill or supported a certain policy, she would "publicly oppose" him.

Hillary Clinton is a woman who still bears a grudge over being told in high school that a girl couldn't become president of the student government. She cheerfully relates stories of people who thought "the wrong Clinton" had been elected President. Clinton never says so explicitly, but her book leaves little doubt about how badly she wants the job in the Oval Office.

—**Tara Ross** *is an attorney in Texas.*

WASHINGTON INTERNSHIPS

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By Karl Zinsmeister and Eli Lehrer

Indicators

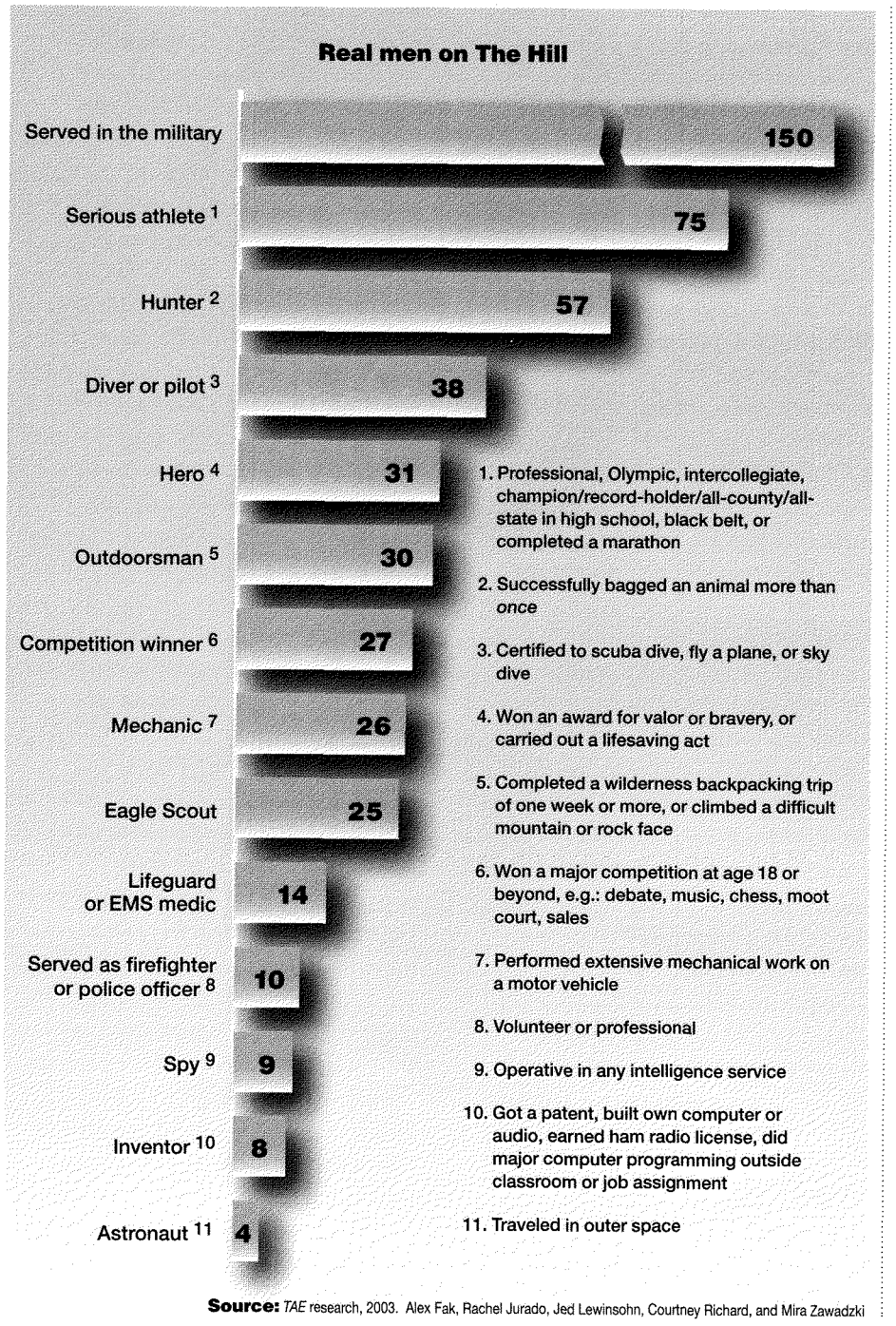
THE MEN OF CONGRESS

For this special *TAE* installment on men, the INDICATORS editors decided to conduct our own survey of the men currently in the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate. How many of the individuals in Congress notably exhibit one or more of the traditional attributes of masculinity? How many flunk a test of old-fashioned male virtues?

To find out, we and our ace *TAE* interns searched public records, sent a written survey to every male member of Congress, then followed up with phone calls. We ended up with data on 305 of the 463 men in the House and Senate. Though we've avoided teasing too much sociological significance out of information collected partly just for fun, some of the results are intriguing.

We tried to cast the net broadly in order to capture the wide range of behavior conventionally viewed as admirable in men. Respondents could get credit for being a chess champion or accomplished computer nerd. We recognized men capable of fixing their own cars, and those who have hunted their own meat. Patent winners, champion athletes, and successful entrepreneurs got counted. Our criteria extend right up to the level of the war hero, Olympic champion, astronaut, and bona fide lifesaver.

In rank order, here are the number of men in Congress we were able to identify as having racked up various trophies of masculinity:



Source: *TAE* research, 2003. Alex Fak, Rachel Jurado, Jed Lewinsohn, Courtney Richard, and Mira Zawadzki

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CONSPICUOUSLY UN-MASCULINE

Clearly there are a large number of extraordinarily accomplished, even valiant, men in our national legislative bodies.

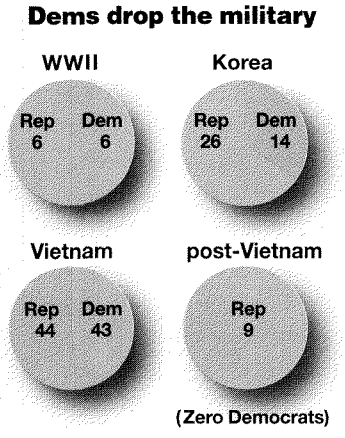
There are also some who have achieved nothing in the way of the traditional male milestones. Fully 40 offices reported that not a single one of the male victories graphed on the facing page had been attained by their congressman. Since we have no data on about one third of the representatives, that suggests there are more than 60 men in Congress who are conspicuously unskilled in the masculine arts. If the members who refused to answer our survey did so because they are especially light on medals of masculinity, the sissy total is even higher.

MILITARY MEN

Of the 150 men in Congress with military service to their credit, 87 are Republicans, and 63 are Democrats.

We broke those down by service era and found that GOP and Democratic congressmen served at roughly similar rates in World War II and Vietnam. The GOP has far more Korean War veterans.

Most interestingly, the Democrats have no members of Congress—zero—with military service in the post-Vietnam period. Have contemporary political Democrats completely opted out of military service?



Source: *TAE* research, 2003.

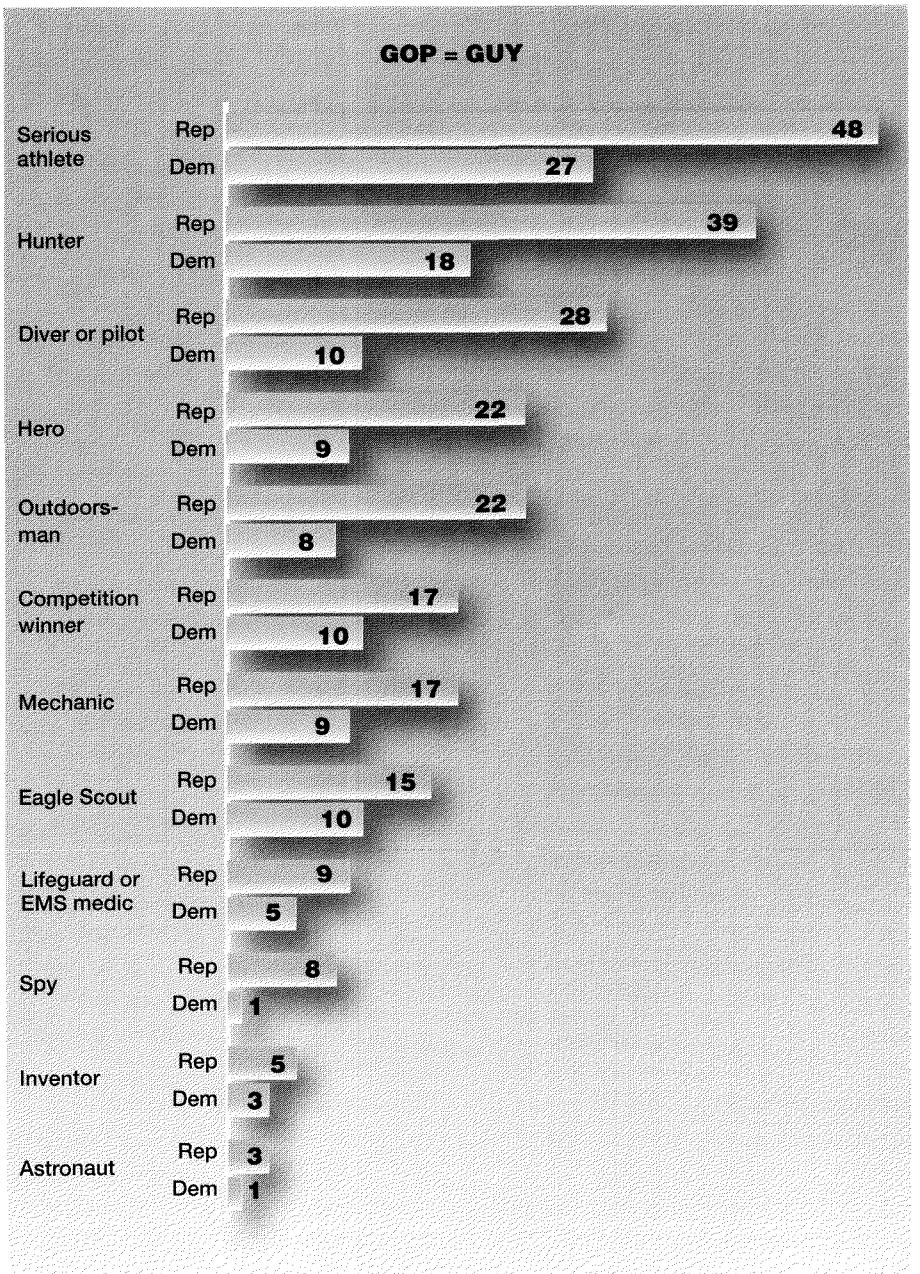
THE XX PARTY AND THE XY PARTY

Women have recently piled into the Democratic Party in disproportionate numbers, while men have tended to vote for and join the Republican Party.

Quite apart from this demonstrated inclination of the sexes to separate by party, our data also show behavioral differences between male Democrats and male Republicans. In an amazing 14 of the 15 categories we tested—from jocks to computer whizzes to Eagle Scouts to soldiers—there were more Republican than Democratic congressmen with solid male credentials (usually *lots* more). In the remaining category—firefighters/policemen—GOP and Democratic members of Congress were tied.

Moreover, Democrats were *twice* as likely to tell us that they had not pulled off a single one of the manly achievements on our list.

Following are the categories where the parties differed:



Source: *TAE* research, 2003.

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Forward Observer

James Glassman

What Really Matters: Spending, Not Deficits

Here's a mystery: Why don't more Americans want a tax cut?

Congress did finally pass President Bush's tax-relief plan, but it was an intense struggle, and, in the end, the total reductions were cut in half. The plan offered something for almost everyone. For the poor (individuals making less than $14,000), it ended income taxes entirely. For families, it eliminated the marriage penalty, boosted child credits and cut rates. For investors and businesspeople, it lowered taxes on dividends and capital gains and vastly increased the capital-investment deduction. What's not to like?

One would expect that people prefer to hand over less money to the government—especially at a time of sluggish growth and rising unemployment. Yet, a recent *Washington Post*/ABC News poll found that two out of three respondents approved of cutting the original Bush plan in half, and nearly a third wanted it killed altogether. Why are serious tax cuts so hard to pass? Two reasons stand out:

First, tax collections are now so wildly skewed toward high earners that many Americans pay little or nothing. The Tax Foundation reports that this year 36 million returns, representing 70 million people, will have a liability of zero for federal income taxes. The entire bottom *half* of earners pay only 4 percent of income taxes, and the average rate they pay is less than 5 percent of their income. So a quarter of all Americans are not affected in the slightest by taxes, and another fourth pay only tiny amounts.

Second, political hysteria over federal deficits has hoisted Republicans on their own petard. In their efforts to reduce the size of government over the last generation, the GOP disingenuously promoted the idea that deficit spending was downright immoral, because it would increase interest rates and saddle our children with their parents' debts. Tactically, this approach worked. Even Democrats now use deficit talk—to oppose tax cuts, not cuts in spending.

Is there a way to frame the issue of tax cuts to avoid these two problems? I think so.

First, stop cutting people off the income tax rolls altogether! Such actions only aid the pro-tax coalition. President Bush's current plan will knock another 12 million Americans off the tax rolls. Why? Republicans will never get credit for slashing taxes at the bottom, and, besides, low earners benefit at least as much as high earners from government services and should pay *something*. If we want to cut their taxes, it would make more sense to cut payroll taxes for Social Security and Medicare (which are higher than income taxes for most lower-income people anyway).

Second, and more important, we need to start asking fundamental questions about what government does. When considering a potential federal activity we should ask if its costs exceed the benefits, if the private sector or states can do it more efficiently, and if it constrains freedom. After elected officials have decided the appropriate activities of government and what they cost, they

can move on to the next question: How do we pay for those things?

Like a business, government can sensibly use a combination of taxes (the equivalent of direct payments out of a company's own revenues) and debt. Under normal circumstances, the source doesn't matter much. Either way, money goes from private hands to the government.

Milton Friedman puts the issue well: "Many discussions of the economic effect of tax cuts and deficits implicitly assume that government spending is predetermined, and independent of whether there is a tax cut or a deficit. In that world, deficits are produced entirely by a shortage of tax receipts.... As I see the world...what is predetermined is not spending but the politically tolerable deficit. Raise taxes by enough to eliminate the existing deficit and spending will go up to restore the tolerable deficit."

The project for believers in a robust free-market system is a simple one: Focus on spending, not deficits. That may take time, because the anti-deficit campaign was such a raging success.

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Grover Norquist

Choosing Sides

The Sunday morning television shows love to pronounce winners at the end of each week's news cycle. But they ignore the important question of who will win over the next ten or 20 years. Are American politics moving rightward? Or leftward?

There are several possible ways to predict the political future. One can extrapolate from the most recent election. But elections give only a snapshot. After the 1992 elections, hopeful liberals predicted a generation of Democratic control at the federal level; 1994 turned out pretty different.

In between elections, one can look at polling data to see how party affiliations or attitudinal positions on various issues are shifting. Following that course after the 1991 Gulf War, nearly all pollsters expected a second term for President George H. W. Bush. Obviously, answers to pollsters' questions don't fully reflect future voting commitments.

A better measure of what is likely to happen in the political future is to look at decisions people are making in their own lives. For the last seven years, new Republican voter registrants have outnumbered new Democratic registrants for the first time since the 1920s. That is a bedrock shift.

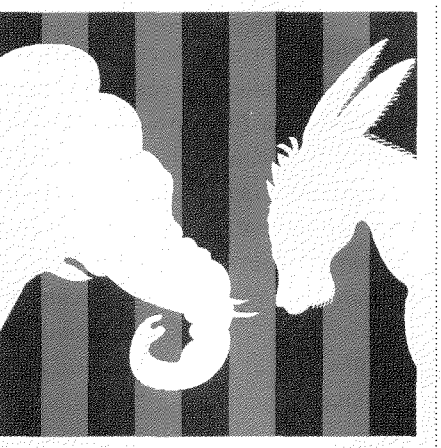
Significant transitions are also taking place among political professionals. When an elected Democrat switches to the GOP, he is wagering that he will be happier and more likely to win elections on the Republican side for the duration of his professional life. He is making a momentous decision that will determine his employability, his ability to earn a living, and the shape of his social calendar.

Since Bill Clinton won in 1992, over 400 elected Democrats have become Republicans. This includes two senators, Richard Shelby of Alabama and Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado, and five members of the House of Representatives: 433 Democrats in all. The number of party switchers spiked at 82 in 1995, but 39 switched in 2001, 31 in 2002, and 15 in the first third of 2003.

It is harder to count elected Republicans who switch to the Democratic Party, because Democrats say they don't keep track (the team that tells you it isn't keeping score is generally losing). In my own personal count, however, I find fewer than 20 switchers in recent years. Among them: former congressman Michael Forbes, former New York lieutenant governor Betsy McCaughey, and four state representatives. Vermont senator Jim Jeffords only made a quarter-turn from liberal Republican to independent back in June 2001.

Writers and intellectuals also switch teams. David Brock, a former investigative journalist for conservative periodicals, moved from right to left in the mid 1990s. Kevin Phillips wrote *The Emerging Republican Majority* in 1969, but by 1980 was denouncing Reaganism and the modern conservative movement and leading the charge for class warfare.

The ranks of intellectuals making a left to right shift are much larger, however. Irving Kristol, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter, David Horowitz, and Peter Collier arrived officially on the right during the 1980s.



Since Bill Clinton won in 1992, over 400 elected Democrats have switched to the Republican Party.

Michael Barone, who worked on Edward Kennedy's 1980 campaign, is now a strong conservative voice in his news columns. *TAE*'s James Glassman, once a leftish president of the *Harvard Crimson* and publisher of the *New Republic*, is now the voice of the emerging investor class and a foe of leftwing environmental extremism. Authors like Ron Radosh, Stephen Schwartz, and P. J. O'Rourke have moved right.

It is possible that millions of voter registrants, hundreds of politicians, and scores of intellectuals are wrong, and that our country will move left over the next generation. But few people seem to be betting their careers on that.

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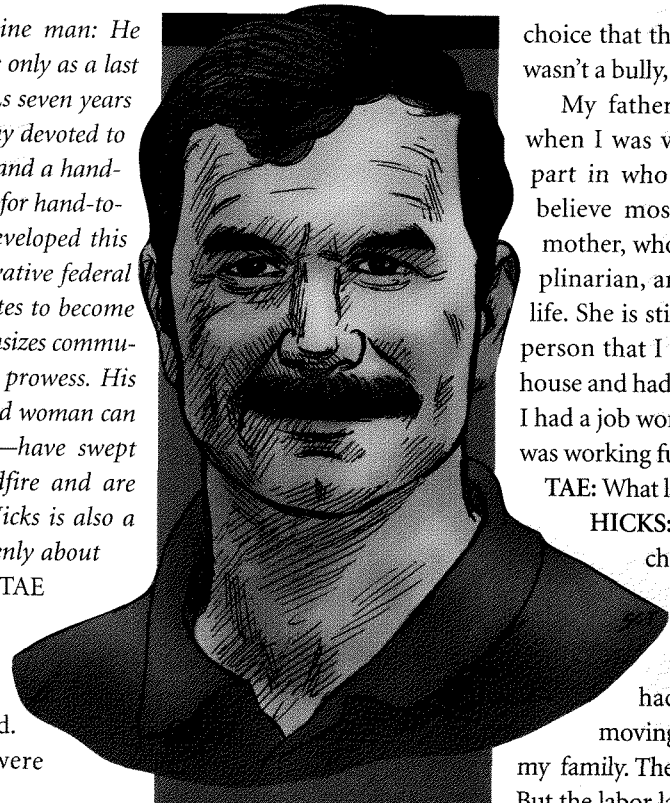
"Live" with TAE

He's a Navy SEAL-turned-successful-businessman who could beat just about anyone in a fight but prefers communication to combat.

Lew Hicks

Lew Hicks epitomizes the masculine man: He knows how to fight but uses violence only as a last resort. Since leaving the Navy SEALs seven years ago, he's built a 200-person company devoted to teaching law enforcement agencies (and a handful of private citizens) his techniques for hand-to-hand self-defense. He originally developed this method for Police Corps, an innovative federal program that trains college graduates to become police officers. Hicks' program emphasizes communication skills as much as physical prowess. His techniques—with which a 110-pound woman can pin and hold a 300-pound man—have swept America's police agencies like wildfire and are already taught in over 30 states. Hicks is also a devoted family man who speaks openly about his religious beliefs. He talked with TAE *senior editor Eli Lehrer at the Police Corps offices near Baltimore.*



Every man needs to know he can defend himself.

TAE: Tell me about your childhood. Where were you born? What were your parents like?

HICKS: I had a wonderful childhood. It was filled with adventure. I grew up near the Missouri River in South Omaha, on the wrong side of the tracks. It was a rough-and-tumble neighborhood. I started fishing with friends in the Missouri River at age six. There was a lot of independent activity in my youth. I just romped through forests and down by the rivers and adventured through molasses factories and stockyards at a very young age. I was one of 13 brothers and sisters. I'm still close to most of them. One of them was murdered in his sleep when I was in fifth grade. Through my entire childhood, I had really great guidance and, for whatever reason, I never got involved in a gang or drugs and drinking. Not so much because of adult pressure but just because I made the choice that that's not what I was going to do. I wasn't a bully, but I knew how to defend myself.

My father was an alcoholic and he died when I was very young. He played very little part in who I am and what I've become. I believe most of who I am came from my mother, who was the guiding light, the disciplinarian, and the emotional support of my life. She is still alive today and is the strongest person that I know. At 13, I moved out of the house and had my own apartment with a friend. I had a job working at Armour Packing House. I was working full-time and going to school.

TAE: What led you to move out of the house?

HICKS: My father had died, and with nine children still living at home it obviously made for a very impoverished house, and my mother, never having had a job before, had gotten one. I just decided that moving out would make things easier on my family. There were child labor laws of course. But the labor law I followed was that I needed to work. So I went to the meat-packing house.

TAE: Was being able to defend yourself a part of growing up?

HICKS: It was. I had a great many aggressive brothers and neighbors. My brothers grew up in the '50s, I was born in 1959, and the sort of violence you see in *West Side Story* was real-life activity on the streets where I grew up. There was a process of fighting and establishing yourself either as a block leader or, at least, as somebody who needs to be reckoned with. There was a lot of fighting. For a lot of men I meet, the ability to protect themselves is a major theme in life. The things I do are sexy and attractive to most men because they are the things that are in the front of every man's subconscious: Can I protect myself?

Illustration by Sam Torode

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TAE: What was your first fight like?

HICKS: The first time that I got into something where it was meaningful, rather than just playground pushes and shoves, was when I was five years old at a community center. There was a wrestling match that day. I weighed all of 60 pounds and there were all these eight-, nine-, and ten-year-olds around. I was asked if I wanted to wrestle. I was already a pretty tough little kid; when sports came up, I got picked first. And so, not having a clue about wrestling, I entered a match with this kid that weighed probably 40 pounds more than me. The coach kept yelling out to me "cross-face him! cross-face him!" and showed me a physical activity that he did with his arms, and so I copied that. My opponent's face erupted. There was a lot of blood. And he quit. There was something about that, it gave me a sense of power. I can't find the words to describe what it did to my confidence to take on someone so much bigger, and win.

TAE: Did you continue to wrestle in high school?

HICKS: I wrestled! The coach's name was Beauford Hazler and he was probably harder on me than any other male figure in my life. He was extremely tough, very fair, and gave me something that I'll remember for the rest of my life. He just told me, "You know, Lew Hicks, the harder you work the luckier you'll get," and for some reason that stuck in my head. And so, even when I was at the packing house working, pulling hides off of these carcasses and standing knee-deep in blood and guts, I looked at it as a workout. It was something that was going to make me stronger and harder.

TAE: What about your path from high school to the SEALs?

HICKS: I had my share of problems in high school. A lot of the time, I was just fighting for no reason. I had thoughts of college but didn't feel that I was prepared for it. I had wasted so much time in high school because of academic misdirection; not knowing what my academic talents were. During a wrestling tournament, I met someone who was the assistant Olympic coach, a gentleman named Gary Sauer, who was a commander in the Navy. And he said: "If you're lost and you don't have any place to go, why don't you join the Navy?" And so that's what I did. I came to my mother's house one day and told her. She was surprised but accepted it.

The SEAL environment is intense and masculine—the language, the smells, the daily adventure. It is purely a man's world.

All I wanted to do was get away from the packing house and get away from South Omaha.

TAE: So how did that lead you to the SEALs?

HICKS: I was on the Navy's own wrestling team. At a wrestling meet on Okinawa, I ran into some SEALs. They were unbelievable physical specimens and they had an air about them that I could appreciate. They were competent individuals that knew what they wanted. And the camaraderie that they shared was something that, at that point in time, I had never experienced. So it definitely was something that I sought out.

TAE: How do you go about becoming a SEAL?

HICKS: Some people I'd run into in Japan told me about BUD/S [Basic Underwater Demolition/SEAL, the first course that SEALs take]. When I was stationed in San Diego I got my physical, did all the things that I was supposed to, and then I took the screening test. I was in pretty good shape, so I passed. I still didn't have much direction, but this was something that really intrigued me. Something inside of me said, "This is what I'm supposed to do."

TAE: What was the training like?

HICKS: There's been lots written about BUD/S but I don't think it can convey the character growth, moral development, and the physical strength that one gains through the training. More than anything, however, the idea of camaraderie and becoming a team is central to the training. It is an unbelievable experience. You go through extraordinary experiences that you'll be able to draw strength from for the rest of your life. Every single day was a whole new adventure and a whole new trial. There were parts of it where all you wanted to do was get to the next ten minutes. Or get to the next day. There was very little thought of "Okay, what am I going to do this week." It is amazing what your body can do if your mind says "Don't stop!"

TAE: To what extent did your upbringing prepare you for the rigors of Navy SEAL training?

HICKS: It was tailor-made. When I went into the SEALs, I was surrounded by many of the individuals that were of the same mold. These were individuals with hard childhoods, who were scrappers by nature, but also had things going on upstairs. There was a very difficult intellectual component to SEAL training dealing with the physics of combat, the physiological aspects of diving medicine, dive tables, writing

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abilities, and communication skills. Lots of things took place intellectually that I didn't know were part of BUD/S. But these were just the sort of things my upbringing prepared me for.

TAE: What happened after SEAL training?

HICKS: I had done the five-and-a-half-mile swim and everything else that's required of you. And I was thinking, "I can't wait until I get out of BUD/S, I'm never going to be in pain again. I'm never going to be cold again. This is great! I get to become one of the boys."

Well, right after that, I went to jump school at Fort Benning, where I had to go through training with a bunch of Army individuals with several of my SEAL classmates. And it was hard. Then I had to go through Prisoner of War School. I remember, my first day there, there was a Frogman, a Navy SEAL, that showed up to do our first day of physical training. He was a tall, dark-skinned guy. He looked like he'd been out in the sun all day, very gray hair, an older-looking gentleman. I thought, "What's this? I thought I was going to be challenged!" After about 45 minutes it was all I could do to just stand up straight without my body shaking. It amazed me that this man had such vigor, vitality, and strength even though he was twice my age.

TAE: What was your SEAL work like?

HICKS: Busy! You spend countless hours preparing, training and dealing with the competitive nature of your teammates on a daily basis. It's tough: an immense, intense masculine environment. It is purely a man's world—the language, the smells, the daily adventure, the toughness and the hardness that you had to prepare for every day. That's what Special Forces is about. There are probably some women, somewhere, who could put up with the physical rigors of serving in SEALs. I don't doubt it. But it would never work. It's just a purely male environment and the fact that it's all men is a big part of it. That's all there is to it.

TAE: What else did you do in the SEALs?

HICKS: After spending nine years in one of the SEAL teams, I had the opportunity to be an instructor for BUD/S. So I did that for two years. That was probably the most difficult job I've ever had. The hours were hard. You had to lead from the front. Those two years as an instructor probably molded me to what I'm currently doing more than any other time in my life. It was great: Everything you did was going to have an unbelievable effect on these young men. It was a bit staggering to see the transformation.

Men are the protectors. As long as humans exist, that's the way it will be.

Then I got involved in some special operations for about two years. Following that, I went back to the SEAL teams for some more adventure and some more platoon life. I finalized my career at what was called Navy Special Warfare Group One: the governing body for the entire West Coast special ops. And I was involved with a huge training section there that analyzed and developed different types of training that would prepare all the platoons for combat readiness.

TAE: Why did you leave the Navy?

HICKS: I was asked by a fellow Navy SEAL to give some demonstrations of the hand-to-hand combat that I had developed through working with police officers. A lot of ex-SEALs had become cops. And police officers I knew decided that the type of hand-to-hand combat that I had developed was what they needed. I developed it working in the SEALs but it wasn't polished. I met Adam Walinsky who was helping get the Police Corps program off the ground and, instantly, I was entranced with the idea. Remembering my childhood and the fractures that existed in society, I knew that the police could solve them. There wasn't a question in my mind that this was what I needed to do.

I was also getting married, so it became obvious that I should move on from the SEALs.

TAE: Tell me a little bit about the fighting system you've developed.

HICKS: The system I've developed is based on physics and the mechanics of the body. It's based on what I learned in the SEALs and a lot of it I figured out myself. It doesn't make any difference, whether you are female, male, black, white, tall, skinny. It works for anybody who has a certain level of fitness. It's based on constants that deal with physiology that apply to everybody. It's not based on any existing fighting system, just on science and common sense. The idea is not pain compliance. Most of the people who attack police officers are drunk or on drugs and therefore resistant to pain. There's no point in trying to inflict pain on them. That's likely to turn brutal, and ineffective. With my technique you can just control their bodies and get them to do what you want.

Talking to people, however, is the real essence

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of what this is all about. Police officers spend 98 percent of their time talking with people and, if they know how to do it, they can avoid fighting. The time of beating young black men with black sticks is over. And it's wrong! If you can talk to people and approach them with dignity and control the excitement levels and the energy levels then you control a lot of the things that are going on. The most brutal level of force is ineffective force. There does come a time when the talk ends and you need to become physical. But if you're afraid, and your language reflects that, then you're always playing catch-up. Police officers had better know how to talk to somebody. Can you imagine approaching a hardened kid on the streets, like myself when I was a young man, and not having the confidence of self-preservation? As soon as you opened your mouth I would know that you are afraid.

TAE: To what extent is the ability to fight with your hands still important for SEALs and for the military in general?

HICKS: Very, very important. It's still going to take courage to push a button, and you can best develop that if you have fighting skills. And it'll still take individuals to infiltrate the hardest and harshest areas. That takes a great amount of courage. If you put your hands on an opponent during war to take him into custody, you don't know anything about him. He could make things very bad for you. You have to be able to preserve your life. Even if you have every smart bomb and high-tech weapon, a lot of war fighting still comes down to direct contact. For fighting people, having the ability of self-preservation can give them the confidence that they'll excel in all other aspects of warfare.

TAE: What about for life outside of combat situations?

HICKS: I don't care whether you're in the military or you're a businessman—every man wants to know that he's going to be able to preserve his own life. And I think most wives have a sense of security by having a husband in the house. Men are hunters. Men are the protectors. And as long as the human race exists there's going to be a need for males to fulfill that role. One of men's greatest fears is the inability to take care of themselves. Many men have mental images of self-preservation. They believe that if anybody ever got them in an alley or accosted their wives in a parking lot, they would magically come to grips with these physical skills, of which none of them know anything. It won't happen unless they learn how to fight. But when they actually learn those skills, it changes from a subconscious process to something real and it gives them an unbelievable amount of courage. Courage enough that they can approach communities and their lives with real dignity and strength. It is enormously important for their interactions with other men.

TAE: Should women also learn to fight?

HICKS: Without a doubt. I have a specialized course just for women. Some people may look at this as a sexist thing but I train women differently than I do men. Their physical strength lines are different. Their body mass density is different. The whole dynamics of how they use their bodies is different. The psychological aspects of life are different. But they can learn how to use their bodies just as effectively as men; they can win fights. They gain the same things that men do from learning how to fight. Although, on a mental level, simply being able to do it isn't quite as important for women.

TAE: Have you ever gotten into a private fight as an adult?

HICKS: Yes, twice. The first time, I was with a friend in a car in a shopping mall parking lot in the middle of the day. We were approached by a guy with a gun. He obviously hadn't bathed in days and was strung out on drugs or a street-type person. We thought he was going to hijack the car. When he reached for the gun, I took physical action. That put him out of commission. The police showed up and took over.

Soon after that, I was at a gas station and a guy who was drunk, or high, drove up in a large truck. I was in a smaller truck. He drove right up under my back bumper and locked our trucks together as I was pumping my gas. Without a word he started pumping his gas. So I said to him, "Hey, why don't you move your vehicle?" Well, he verbally accosted me and then started to approach me. So I knocked him out. I took the gas pump from him and put it away. I drove off leaving him sleeping soundly.

TAE: Gandhi said "Peace will come not out of a clash of arms, but out of justice lived and done by unarmed nations in the face of odds." In other words, fighting never solved anything.

HICKS: Well, philosophically that may be true. But Gandhi never walked the streets of South Omaha or East Baltimore or Chicago. Or Camden. Or East L.A. And when you're 14 years old and it's two o'clock in the morning and you're leaving work and it just happened to be your time for somebody else's entertainment, I think the solution is that you get to go home even if it means fighting. It may not solve the fractures in society. It may not solve the problems of mankind but it sure as hell is going to solve your getting home that day.

TAE: How important is religious faith in your life?

HICKS: I think religious faith is extremely important. What the name of your God is doesn't matter to me. I think the spiritual reflection on the decisions we make, the things that give us our moral fiber, and the guidelines for our character, are ingrained in us. It allows me the period of time of reflection that I need dealing with everyday life, dealing with the issues that these Police Corps kids and these other police officers have to face every day. It just gives me the strength and the guidance that I need to provide to them the things that I believe they need; the idea of self-assuredness, character-building, problem-solving, and decision-making under stress. But still, the bottom line that guides all of these things is not a use of force continuum, it's not a list of rules and laws, but what is morally right and the moral obligations that you have to man and to God.

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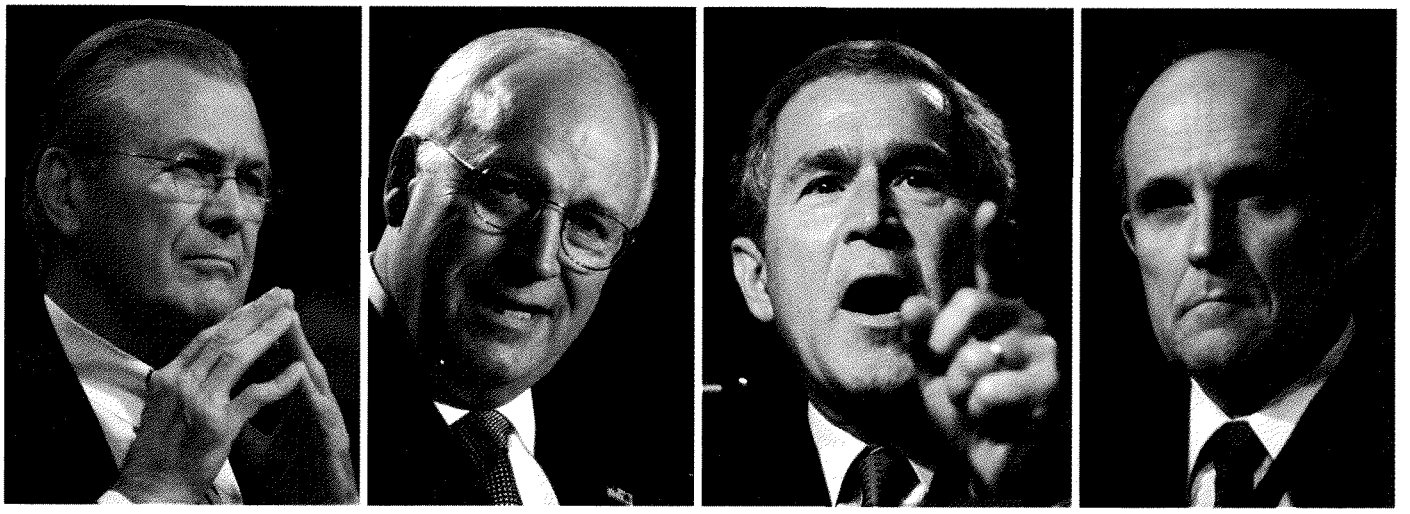
The Return of Manly Leaders *and the* Americans Who Love Them



From left to right: Scripps Howard/Newscom, Reuter Photo Archive/Newscom, Agence France Presse/Newscom Zuma Press/Newscom

By Jay Nordlinger

Many years ago, Chris Matthews—now famous on TV—hit on an interesting formulation: He said the Democrats were the "mommy party" and the Republicans the "daddy party." That is, the Democrats were "nurturers," concerned with health policy and daycare. The Republicans were "protectors," taking care of national security and other manly matters. This notion is obviously galling to some. But Matthews was on to something, and we now find ourselves in a "daddy party" time.

Republicans have seldom shied from an embrace of manliness. The *New York Times* recently ran a report on the new Bush re-election headquarters. It explained that the offices display two large photos: one of President Bush "sweating and looking rugged in a T-shirt and cowboy hat"; another of Ronald Reagan "also looking rugged in a cowboy hat." Yup, that's the Republican Party.

Of course, George W. Bush is famous for his "compassionate conservatism." He is capable of great tenderness of expression, much of it related, no doubt, to his triumph over alcohol and his religious awakening. But Bush as *hombre* has been the dominant theme of his post-September 11 Presidency.

Rich Lowry, editor of *National Review*, likes to tell a story about Bush out in Iowa, early in the 2000 Presidential campaign. A group of Hell's Angels rode into town, and Bush simply waded into them, hugging them, bonding with them, relishing them. Not every American politician could manage this, without affectation. Bush was also, in that campaign, known to have a much better time with the rough 'n' ready cameramen in the back of the plane than with the (much more effete)

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reporters who also accompanied him.

His ranch in Crawford says a lot, too. President Clinton enjoyed swilling with the swells on Martha's Vineyard (except for 1996, when a poll instructed him to go camping out West). President Bush, much to the dismay of the White House press corps, would rather spend August in boiling central Texas, wielding a chainsaw.

Many Americans have rediscovered the virtues of manliness in office.

Bush's personality grates on some. On many. He is accused of machismo, belligerence, cowboyism. For Europeans, in particular—and for European-like Americans—he is the very model of the swaggering, heedless, vulgar right-winger. He said he wanted bin Laden "dead or alive." About Saddam holdouts in Iraq, he declared, "Bring 'em on"—meaning, our boys are ready to confront them. This prompted a hue and cry among Bush's critics. As the *Washington Post*'s Dana Milbank commented, "It's the sort of thing that sounds pretty shocking," although "often this sort of Old West rhetoric appeals to the American people."

In a June 2002 speech, Bush gave his description of the country he leads: "I like to use the word 'tough,' because we are." "Tough but compassionate," he has said on other occasions, a phrase that may apply as much to himself as to the country. In his State of the Union address of 2002, he said something remarkably blunt, even astounding: "For too long, our culture has said, 'If it feels good, do it.' Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: 'Let's roll.'" (Of course, this is an evocation of the famous words spoken aboard Flight 93 on September 11.)

The last couple of years have been replete with Bush toughness—tough talk, tough action, toughness in a tough job. "They've got a problem on their hands," he said of the terrorists. "We're gonna find 'em. And if they're hidin', we're gonna smoke 'em out. And we'll bring 'em to justice." He is quite taken with this "smoking out" business. Standing in the White House with the governor of Louisiana, he said, "I know the governor likes to hunt rabbits down in Louisiana. Sometimes those rabbits think they can hide from the governor. But, eventually, he smokes 'em out and gets 'em. And that's exactly what's happening to Mr. bin Laden and all the murderers that he's trying to hide in Afghanistan."

He can be cocky, certainly—sort of defiant-cocky, righteous-cocky. In March 2002, he told an audience, "Obviously, as you well know, we found some of them [the terrorists] bunched up in the Shahikote Mountains [of Afghanistan]. And we sent our military in. And they're not bunched up anymore." Badda-bing.

So, that's our President. What of our Vice President? Is he, too, a "daddy politician"? You bet, as Donald Rumsfeld would say. Cheney is a laconic Westerner, exuding an aura of competence, strength, and dependability. You get the feeling that things are going to be all right if Cheney is on the case. Like his boss, he talks straight, in matter-of-fact tones. His detractors enjoy reminding us that he received a deferment in the Vietnam War—he is on the liberals' list of "chicken hawks." But few serious people consider him anything other than a prime example of the tough-minded conservative.

Then there is the Secretary of Defense himself. Donald Rumsfeld is almost a riot of manliness, and his moment indeed arrived on September 11. He was in his office—briefing congressmen on, among other things, the threat of terrorism—when Flight 77 slammed into the Pentagon's walls. Against the advice of some, he rushed to help the wounded. Not long after 9/11, I talked to some friends of his, in preparation for a piece. One of them said, "Look, we're not playing pitty-patty anymore. We have a foe that's proven deadly. People look for a different kind of person to run Washington—as far away from the Clinton type as you can get."

Rumsfeld, it is true, is the anti-Clinton. We see this in his authenticity, his trustworthiness, and his frankness. He is so direct, he practically assaults the modern, spin-accustomed ear. Rumsfeld freely uses what my colleague Kate O'Beirne has dubbed the "K-word"—kill. When a reporter asked him why U.S. forces were using such heavy bombs in Afghanistan, the Secretary replied: "They are being used on frontline al-Qaeda and Taliban troops to try to kill them." Oh.

Rather unexpectedly, Rumsfeld became a kind of sex symbol as the weeks and months after 9/11 unfolded. Women of all sorts were open about their attraction to him. On CNN, Larry King was moved to ask him about his new status as a heartthrob. "Oh, come on," said Rumsfeld. "For the AARP, perhaps. I'm pushing 70 years old." But that was beside the point—or maybe it was the point itself. Rumsfeld is, in fact, a throwback: to a time of crew-cuts, stiff upper lips, and moral clarity. He seems a character out of a World War II flick. Clinton, by contrast, was more a Richard Gere kind of leader. Where Clinton feels pain, Rumsfeld is more likely to inflict it—on the country's enemies.

Sometimes viewed as insouciant, the Defense Secretary is resolutely clear-eyed about war. Over and over, he describes it as a "dirty job," a "tough, long, grinding, dirty business." Columnist Maureen Dowd twits him as "Rip Van Rummy"—a guy who went to sleep sometime in the '70s and woke up to find himself in government again. The old values, however, are in. Of necessity.

Rudolph Giuliani is another man whose stock has risen. After September 11, he loomed as a hero to the entire country, and his legendary toughness seemed exactly right. This was a man who took charge of hell on earth and bucked a shaken city up. He had never been a cuddly mayor—but the people of New York hadn't wanted a cuddly mayor. They wanted crime defeated and their city livable once more. To be sure, Giuliani has had some less-than-heroic moments. He held a press con-

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ference to announce that he was separating from his wife; he told both the world and her at the same time. On a lighter note, I might mention that Giuliani, as mayor, enjoyed dressing in drag. He did this on several festive, campy occasions. It takes an exceptionally manly man to appear in make-up, wig, frock, and pumps and still keep his reputation.

Since September 11, many Americans have rediscovered the virtues of manliness in office. The Democrats have a job to do if they're to challenge the "daddy party" in this respect.

They've been making an effort. Richard Gephardt, the former House minority leader and current Presidential candidate, has been acting macho—or at least blustery—on the stump. He has been pounding lecterns, shouting, making his veins bulge. Gephardt seems to have lifted a page from Al Gore, whereby if you rant and rave, you're a man—indeed, an "alpha male." In his third debate versus Governor Bush, Vice President Gore strode across the stage and got right in the face of his opponent. Barbara Bush, mother of the Republican nominee, later commented, "I thought he was going to hit George." It was a bad move on Gore's part: He simply looked like a bully—and a pretender, at that—rather than a tough guy. Bush's parry of him—an incredulous nod—was masterly.

Again, the Democrats will have to acquire a bit more testosterone if they're to compete with the GOP. This is, indeed, no time for "pitty-patty." As for the Republicans, if they had any *more* testosterone, they'd be The Incredible Hulk. House Speaker Denny Hastert was a wrestling coach, for crying out loud. That's almost overkill!

Why We Need Macho Men

By Steve Sailer

With many Republicans excited by the possibility that former Mr. Olympia bodybuilder and current *Terminator 3* star Arnold Schwarzenegger may run for governor of California, the connection between masculinity and leadership charisma needs examining. Why does the prospect of being governed by Schwarzenegger, who did for steroids what Timothy Leary did for LSD, seem so much more right and fitting than the notion of being led by an unmanly star like, say, David Spade of "Just Shoot Me?"

The rise of feminism and political correctness has left us with little vocabulary for discussing why, all else being equal, humans prefer masculine rulers. Our pundits have a hard time accounting for the almost subrational reasons why some politicians, such as George W. Bush, are widely seen as natural leaders and others, like poor old Al Gore, aren't.

Before the 2000 Presidential election, political scientists predicted a big Gore victory because the country was enjoying peace and prosperity. The experienced, intelligent, hard-working Vice President cruised into the first Presidential debate with a nice lead over his opponent. Yet, when much of the public paid close attention to the two men for the first time that evening, Gore quickly began to sink in the polls.

Conservative commentators spun out millions of words trying to explain, with little success, why many average folks had found Gore disconcerting and phony sounding. His notorious muscular stiffness clearly contributed, but Gore also displayed a minor speech defect peculiarly unfortunate in a man running for Commander in Chief. Earlier in the campaign, my wife pointed out to me Gore's barely noticeable tendency to hiss his "s" sounds. I ran our impressions by Harry Shearer, who voices a dozen and a half characters on "The Simpsons," including the evil billionaire Mr. Burns and his devoted gay male secretary Smithers. He replied, "It's not a lisp, as in 'lithp.' Rather, it's a sibilant problem, in which the sibilants are pronounced in a thinner, more 'hissy' fashion than is normal among American males." It's not fashionable to notice this, but this "lissssp" makes Gore sound prim, even homosexual, especially in contrast to the folksy masculinity of Bush's Texas accent.

According to experiments conducted by J. Michael Bailey, chairman of the Northwestern University psychology department, showing that audiences can fairly accurately distinguish straights from gays by voice alone, the "lissssp" is one of the three main clues.

Although the pundits were clueless, experts on what Camille Paglia calls "sexual personae" picked up on the impression his "lissssp" made. After the first debate, comedian Billy Crystal joked that Gore sounded like a "gay waiter." Shearer said that he sounded like a "gay robot." Paglia herself complained about Gore's "prissy, lisping, Little Lord Fauntleroy persona, which borders on epicene." Of course, Gore is a happily married father of four, but his pronunciation quirk tends to confuse first-time listeners. And effeminate

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traits simply don't fit many voters' image of a President.

Modern intellectuals feel that voter discrimination in favor of manly men is wrong and shouldn't be discussed in polite company. Less sophisticated peoples suffer no such compunction. Traditional societies often ritually attribute to their kings masculine qualities so extravagant that they'd seem outlandish even in a Schwarzenegger movie.

In Evelyn Waugh's 1932 novel *Black Mischief*, the English adventurer Basil Seal delivers a eulogy to tribesmen gathered in a jungle clearing to cremate Seth, the late emperor of the fictitious African state of Azania. Seth had been a flighty young Oxford grad, but his subjects wanted to hear instead that they had been governed by what Africans call a "Big Man." Therefore, Seal's funeral oration "was no more candid than most royal obituaries. It was what was required":

> Seth's name was a name of terror.... Thousands fell by his right hand. The words of his mouth were like thunder in the hills. Weep, women of Azania, for your royal lover is torn from your arms. His virility was inexhaustible, his progeny numerous beyond human computation. His staff was a grown palm tree. Weep, warriors of Azania. When he led you to battle there was no retreating. In council the most guileful, in justice the most terrible, Seth the magnificent is dead.

To explain why people look to Big Men for leadership, it's useful to compare the Big Man to another masculine, yet radically different, archetype: the nerd. Picture a Cro-Magnon tribe on the Ice Age steppes. The leader of the wooly mammoth hunters is a primordial Big Man, while the guy who stays home and expertly chips flints for the hunters' spears is an early nerd.

Where are Big Men and nerds found in the modern world? Consider the life of George W. Bush. As a fraternity president, he no doubt assigned audio-visual nerds to hook up the frat house stereo to boom out "Louie Louie." As a fighter pilot, he flew F-102 Delta Daggers designed by engineer nerds. As managing general partner of the Texas Rangers ball club, he sold the city of Arlington, Texas on a new stadium deal worked out by finance nerds. As President of the United States of America, he gave a rousing speech to an American Enterprise Institute audience promoting a plan to democratize the Middle East largely sketched by Iraq Attaq nerd Paul Wolfowitz (who, in case you are wondering about his nerd credentials, has a degree in math).

Big Men have the "situational awareness" that the Air Force prizes in fighter pilots; Big Men tend to focus broadly but shallowly. Nerds, in contrast, concentrate narrowly but deeply. Big Men are at their best when they are improvising in the flow of a discussion, hunt, battle, or basketball game. Bush is at his most impressive in fairly small meetings. Nerds work best asynchronously.

"Big Men" do not shirk making life and death decisions.

In other words, Big Men say the right thing to the right people at the right time. Nerds don't. As a card-carrying nerd, I vividly recall walking along after a college history class, reflecting on the Austro-Hungarian Empire, when a Big Man friend passed by with a "Hey, what's happening?"

Well, the Austro-Hungarian Empire clearly wasn't happening, but what was? About five minutes later, I came up with a clever, by then useless, reply—which I could never seem to remember whenever somebody asked me, "Hey, what's happening?"

I bet that never happened to George W. Bush.

Big Men tend to be more masculine than nerds in physical and emotional traits like muscularity, self-confidence, and aggressiveness. These may be related to the levels of testosterone in their bloodstream (and also the number of androgen receptors they have to interact with these male hormones). All these characteristics can be boosted by taking artificial androgens. In 2000, journalist Andrew Sullivan credited the revival of his career to his injecting prescription testosterone. In an article about the manly molecule in the *New York Times Magazine*, he explained how the shots made him more of a Big Man: "My appetite in every sense of that word expanded beyond measure.... I can squat more than 400 pounds. Depression, once a regular feature of my life, is now a distant memory.... Soon after I inject myself with testosterone, I feel a deep surge of energy. My attention span shortens. My wit is quicker, my mind faster, but my judgment is more impulsive."

Perhaps the foremost reason for the popularity of Big Men is that they are decisive. No paralysis through analysis for them. Like Harry Truman, President Bush does not shirk making life and death decisions. He seems to wear the burdens of responsibility lightly.

The downside is that quick decisions are more likely to be wrong decisions, especially because Big Men are inclined, like Old Testament patriarchs, toward wrath. (Once again, this personality trait can be artificially juiced. Bodybuilders refer to their violent episodes as "'roid rage.")

Still, the public is often willing to tolerate an increased chance of snap judgments, especially in foreign policy, because they understand that their leaders aren't making decisions in a timeless void, but are under competitive pressure from the Big Men (and imperious women) heading other countries.

Thus, voters often feel it's more important for their President to make some choice now rather than the perfect choice later. If he mulls and ponders too long, he risks letting an enemy take the initiative. One could hardly expect someone as unscholarly as the President to anticipate all the ramifications of invading Iraq. Yet, regardless of whether his overall assessment of the situation turns out to be right or wrong, by not dithering he seized the whip hand—thus denying it to Saddam Hussein.

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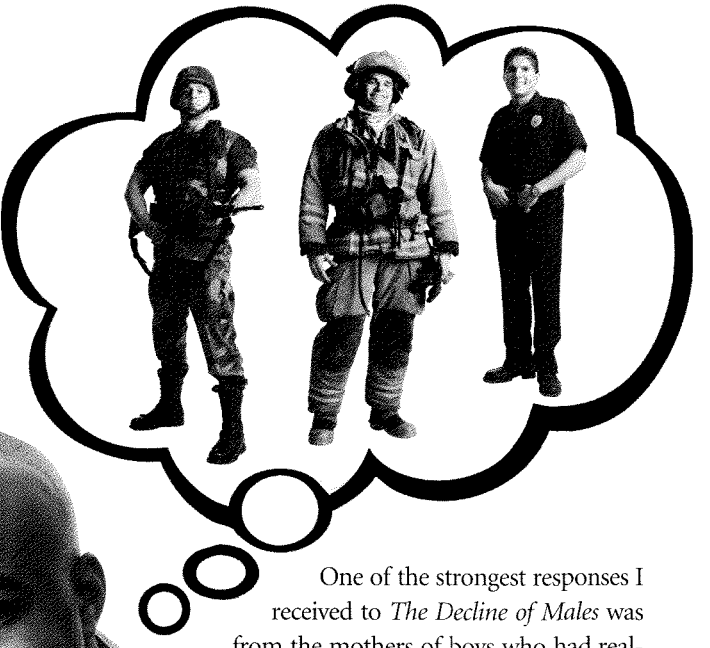
The State of Modern Manhood—What Men Think

Men *on* Men: Intellectual Locker Room Talk



The American Enterprise *and the Internet publication* FrontPage *recently joined forces to conduct an on-line discussion about men today. Jamie Glazov moderated the symposium. The panelists included:*

- *James Bowman, resident scholar at the Ethics and Public Policy Center*
- *David Gutmann, emeritus professor of psychology at Northwestern University*
- *Michael Ledeen, resident scholar at AEI and author of* The War Against the Terror Masters
- *Lionel Tiger, Charles Darwin Professor of Anthropology at Rutgers University and author of* The Decline of Males

JAMIE GLAZOV: Has America fallen in love, once again, with soldiers, firemen, policemen and other traditionally male professions requiring courage and strength? Is manhood held in high esteem again?

JAMES BOWMAN: Yes. But this should not blind us to the enormous forces that our culture still has arrayed against the manly man. So long as the soldier, the policeman, and the fireman retains his new popularity we can expect the culture wars to heat up. The academic, intellectual, and artistic and entertainment worlds will be even more unanimously opposed to any return to the honorable and chivalric standards that were admired before the First World War than they are to other forms of traditionalism because they are more threatened by them. Modern individualism is also opposed to the manly ideal. But the return of honor for our boys in uniform is an encouraging first step.

LIONEL TIGER: Obviously 9/11 and the Iraq action have provided a strong sense of the bedrock nature of what males can provide for the social system. The increased respect for manhood clearly threatens the gaseous women's studies notions of patriarchy as a device sustained by all men against all women.

One of the strongest responses I received to *The Decline of Males* was from the mothers of boys who had realized that their sons faced truncated opportunities in school and hence later in life.

MICHAEL LEDEEN: I think most Americans had remained very positive about fighting men. The intelligentsia rebelled against military heroes as part of the femini-zation of much of American intellectual life.

DAVID GUTMANN: Two psychological states—shame and guilt—are, to greater or lesser degree, active in most adults. Shame has to do with the fear of one's own passivity, and the sadism that it

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invites from others; guilt has to do with the fear of one's own aggression, and the damage it can do to more fragile beings. Both are mobilized in wartime, and—depending on which is uppermost—greatly influence our reactions to warriors, to the enemy, and to the martial virtues. An assault such as 9/11 favors the shame-related motives: Unjustly attacked, most Americans feel little guilt about striking back. Instead, we fear cowardice and incompetence, and we idealize our soldiers who coolly face death while imposing fear and shame on the enemy. But this war revealed a sizeable minority of Americans who preserve the guilt orientation even in the midst of a just war. Concentrated mainly in the universities and the leftist parties, they persist in viewing enemies and allies through the filters of guilt.

Women simply don't have the male understanding of honor.

GLAZOV: Why did the male professions in question fall out of favor with American elites during the dark 1970s?

BOWMAN: They actually fell out of favor much earlier than that. Almost all the worst features of the '60s and '70s were anticipated in the 1920s, and the disfavor into which masculine honor fell then owed to the slaughter of the First World War and the simultaneous rise of feminism and psychotherapy. The discredit these developments brought to masculine honor was offset by the need for it during the Second World War. But the brief swing back toward tradition in the 1950s was undone by the same culprits in a new guise: the dirtiness of counter-insurgency warfare, second-wave feminism, and the romance of victimhood.

TIGER: Beat cops and corporals have rarely been the foci of interest and admiration of elites, especially females, because they promise little in the way of resources, status, fun, and opportunities for children. Now, however, soldiers and policemen are more sophisticated, operate costly high-tech equipment, and are not just trench-diggers or bouncers. In the '60s and '70s, traditional concepts of sex were changed to "gender" and a vast and successful tsunami of bad science flooded mainstream culture with the notion of socially constructed sex roles and everything else.

LEDEEN: Vietnam was very important, as was the temporary triumph of radical feminism. And the "pill" also changed the basic male/female relationship.

GUTMANN: The causes of masculinity-bashing went deeper than 1970s headlines or fashions, and had to do with tectonic changes in the inner character of American elites. The inflated self as celebrated by beat poets was omni-inclusive, harmonizing all the polarities that lesser souls would find mutually exclusive: revolutionary and pot-head, libertine and ascetic, yogi and commissar, male and female. The goal was to be neither exclusively male nor female, but both, a psychological androgyne. The person who committed to a single gender identity was a stunted soul, conned by a life-hating establishment into playing its empty games.

GLAZOV: Why do you think cantankerously masculine politicians like Rudy Giuliani, Dick Cheney, or Don Rumsfeld are so popular with many Americans today?

BOWMAN: Because they look like guys who will get the job done at a time when, for a change, we want guys who will get the job done—rather than striking attitudes, as guys like Bill Clinton used to do.

TIGER: Why are Giuliani, Cheney, Rumsfeld even considered particularly masculine? Maybe they're simply effective and don't use too many dangling sub-clauses. The issue of language is perhaps more important than it seems—plain speaking is attractive intrinsically and may link specifically to neither the X or Y chromosome. However, language linked to an aggressive posture works for a lot of people. Margaret Thatcher is an example.

LEDEEN: Cantankerous males have always been popular in America. Archie Bunker was there long before Rudy Giuliani.

GUTMANN: I think that their appeal has a lot to do with the fact that they are so obviously anti-Clintons. Clinton had a classic case of Narcissistic Personality Disorder. His favorite political maneuver was triangulation. No matter what the cost to honor and integrity, he tried to please everybody. Clinton came to grief when it finally became clear that he was lying to all the occupants of all the triangles. Giuliani, Rumsfeld, and Cheney do not need to be loved. So they can be trusted to tell the truth a good part of the time, regardless of the cost in affection and acclaim.

GLAZOV: It is pretty obvious that Bill Clinton was especially appealing as a leader to women, while George Bush is especially appealing as a leader to men. Why? Is it related to the possibility that the Democrats have become a Mommy Party and the Republicans a Daddy Party?

TIGER: No. The underlying interest of female voters is in the safety net.

LEDEEN: Clinton was a symbol of the "feeling" culture, which started with Rousseau, and which holds that feeling is more important than thinking. It's a bit odd that Bush is taken to be a symbol of the latter, given his lack of intellectual brilliance. I think that Bush is the third President since World War II—along with Truman and Reagan—to have a clear bond with the American people, and to disdain the applause of the intelligentsia.

GUTMANN: I think that Clinton appeals to women because, as a moral and psychological androgyne, he has a good deal of the feminine in him. Bush appeals to men because he heads the Daddy Party, but also because he bears important masculine stigmata: He is a Texan, he is not afraid of war, and he sticks to his guns in the face of a worldwide storm of criticism. Incidentally, the fact that he is relatively inarticulate does not hurt Bush's standing with men: He may not talk the talk, but this deficit only highlights his capacity to walk the walk.

BOWMAN: Women simply don't have the male understanding of honor and are only too ready to believe, like the *New York*

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Times' Maureen Dowd, that the male need to assert himself and gain respect is just a little-boy thing that can easily be bred away to create the "mature" men they pretend to admire. In this sense the Democrats are the Mommy Party; they see moral progress as the opposite of what they regard as the cave-man standard of honor, the idea being that they don't have to stand up to bad guys but can make them good guys by being nice to them.

GLAZOV: Is the idea that there are no significant differences between men and women still the official creed on the college campus, or has there been a backlash against androgyny? Since so many documented works prove that sex differences are based in nature, the notion of gender as "socially constructed" has surely, by now, been completely delegitimized, right?

BOWMAN: I don't think so. The unquestioned faith of the professoriate in a complete equivalence of the sexes has yet to be shaken. But we are too frightened by this idea of social construction. Of *course* "gender" is socially constructed (though it has a biological foundation)—what's wrong with that? Throughout history people have bred boys to be men and girls to be women, precisely because it doesn't happen entirely naturally. Social construction in human societies is also natural and it must be supposed to serve a purpose—such as providing the ethos necessary for a society to defend itself—since it takes such similar forms in such widely disparate societies. What is shameful for men is not necessarily shameful for women and vice versa. That's why it's fighting words to call a man a wimp and a woman a slut but not the other way around. We recognize that the sexes are different by honoring different kinds of behavior in each.

TIGER: While androgyny no longer has complete imperial domain over the intellectual landscape, there has been little examination of the consequences of its continued presence. There is the routine effort, usually successful, to link anti-androgyny to reductionist sociobiology, which is politically suspicious to large neighborhoods of the campus. Legal policies as Title IX, regarding college athletics, operate on the assumption that males and females are the same, or that life should be shaped as if they are. Women's studies programs are sexual ghettos; hardly any males are involved, and they are often outrightly activist, in violation of norms of academic neutrality.

LEDEEN: I'll pass. They don't let me on campus.

GUTMANN: I have the good luck to teach at a medical school rather than a liberal arts campus. Where faculty and students deal with questions of life and death, one quickly learns that reality must be respected. I don't know how the hard-wired realities of our sexual nature are currently regarded in the women's studies centers of the main campus. But my hunch is that nothing much has changed. The radical feminists did not intimidate the liberal arts campus by virtue of their superior reason and scholarship, but by their bold playing of the victim trump card. But while the sisterhood continues to insist that it is the cutting edge, I suspect that today's students, for whom the libbers are part of the tired establishment, pay them little mind—and are exploring traditional sex roles as if they were the latest thing.

GLAZOV: Women have shown they can succeed, often brilliantly, in some traditionally male professions like law, academe, and police work. There are far fewer stories about men shining in professions like nursing and kindergarten teaching. If we keep trying to remold males, as the feminists would have us do, will males one day finally be just as good as women at these things?

BOWMAN: No.

TIGER: Schools try to recast boys and don't do so well. Hence only 43 percent of college students are male, and nine times as many boys as girls are victims of Ritalin—an effort to turn them, in action, into girls.

LEDEEN: There have been endless stories about male mommies, even books and movies. Males, partly as a result, have retreated to their favorite pursuits—pornography and sports—and the women are increasingly co-opted into the capitalist structure, so they take on more and more of the old male characteristics. It's a mess. But the increasingly high prestige of military men—and women—helps. I'm really impressed with the numbers of young men from good families—even elite families—who are pursuing military activities and careers.

GUTMANN: Clearly, women have more incentive than men to succeed in crossover professions. For some women it's payback time, planting their flag in the opponent's camp. The boundary-crossing women are usually upwardly mobile—going from, say, paralegal to lawyer—while the equivalent men usually move down; the fathers are doctors, the sons are nurses. But early doll play and femininity training does not reduce men's achievement drives. Even "feminized" men would continue to seek social rank in the masculine professions, where status is typically gained.

GLAZOV: What do you think is behind the male interest in guns, cars, and trucks?

BOWMAN: It all has to do with hunting and exploring and fighting. Those traditionally male tasks must have some foundation in biology, as the division of labor between the hunters and the gatherers was obviously highly adaptive in primitive societies—which was why it was always reinforced by social construction. What it means to be a man has to be taught, like other survival skills, but that doesn't mean that the whole idea of manliness is unnecessary and socially dispensable.

LEDEEN: Freud.

GUTMANN: There is a basic division of labor in human development. Women's bodies and emotions have evolved to create and nurture life in protected, domestic settings. Men's bodies and emotions have evolved to take life from prey or enemy. Thus, young men wish to populate their worlds with targets, weapons and rolling stock. When these are not available they "hallucinate" them in their play. My wife and two young kids once camped in a Mayan village, where I did field research. One day, a Mayan boy about my son's age of five approached our compound. He and my son stared at each other warily and wordlessly until the visitor lunged for a stick and yelled "BANG!!" Absolutely delighted, my son BANG!!ed back. From then on the chorus of BANG!!s rarely ceased. Meanwhile, my daughter, about seven, made

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friends with a neighboring Mayan girl. Wordlessly, they played together in our yard, making dolls from the same flotsam that the boys had fantasized into guns.

GLAZOV: Will physical strength, aggressiveness, courage, a preference for action over reflection, and other traditional male qualities ever be made irrelevant by the evolution of modern society? If so, what are the consequences?

BOWMAN: To some extent—but not because of "the evolution of modern society." We have come to regard the manly virtues as unnecessary because of an accident of history, namely the American hegemony that has brought over half a century of peace to the developed world. In the Third World, where wars are still fought every day, the revisionist view of traditional masculinity is, for obvious reasons, much less popular than in fat, happy, and peaceful America and Europe, which haven't got anything better to worry about. If we were ever to be threatened again by a rival power of similar military capacities, the manly virtues would make a comeback.

GUTMANN: Modern urban societies provide the physical security—food, shelter, and protection—that is the responsibility of tough men in rural settings. Young, urban men are free to remain psychologically "soft" and to explore less physically demanding occupations. But the whole world does not go flabby all at once. When we go soft, there are still plenty of "hard" peoples—the Nazis and Japanese in World War II, the radical Islamists now—who will see us as decadent sybarites, and who will exploit, through war, our perceived weaknesses. Thus, even in peacetime, democracies must preserve the masculine virtues, usually in special cadres of professional warriors. In times of trouble, technology may not be enough. Nonetheless, today, young Americans go halfway around the world to defeat the Taliban and the Republican Guard on their own turf.

GLAZOV: How effective as warriors are young twenty-first-century Americans?

LEDEEN: They are amazing.

TIGER: Very effective—because the military has stimulating and sophisticated training programs, is self-conscious about its internal promotion structure, and continuously monitors its own successes and failures. Remember that we are dealing with a volunteer military. Americans, like any other population who elect a course of action (the consequence of free choice), are likely to pursue it skillfully, or at least with ongoing zeal.

BOWMAN: The question would be easier to answer as "How effective are Americans as twenty-first-century warriors?"—since the answer would be "Very." The array of high-tech weaponry available to today's Americans and to no other country's soldiers makes it more difficult to answer the question of how effective as warriors they are in the more traditional sense. I would like to think that if today's soldiers had to fight a bloody war, as America has not had to do since Vietnam, with large numbers of casualties, they would be up to the task. But they have not been tested. Let's hope that their technical advantages mean that they won't be tested for a long, long time.

Men's bodies and emotions have evolved to take life from prey or enemy.

GUTMANN: The answer depends on your standards for judging warrior effectiveness. I doubt that a modern American army—or citizenry—could tolerate the losses incurred during the Civil War, or even during World War II. Could we, who agonize over every casualty in Iraq, have accepted the massive body counts of D-Day, Iwo Jima, or Antietam? But what we have lost in blind obedience and dumb courage has been made up for by increases in the average trooper's intelligence, firepower, technical know-how, and individual initiative. Today's grunt packs as much firepower as a World War II platoon, he is familiar with a variety of high-tech weapons, and he can operate on his own, or take over command when his officers fall.

GLAZOV: Will a resurgence of manhood and its veneration help America fight terrorists?

LEDEEN: It is indispensable, because we have to fight. And if Americans don't support this war, we will lose it. But we've seen very clearly that Americans do support it. Americans support fighting when they believe we are well led, and are doing well. They hate it if they think they are being lied to, are badly led, and are doing poorly, like with Vietnam and Somalia.

BOWMAN: Obviously it will help. But it remains to be seen how *far* the manly man has made his comeback. Something beyond individual machismo is required for effective soldiering, and that is the loyalty and *esprit de corps* that comes with a sense of honor. We remain perhaps the most individualistic country in the history of the world as well as one of the most patriotic. We need to learn something more of the old-fashioned virtues of teamwork and group loyalty—and that sometimes patriotism requires sacrifice.

TIGER: Fighting the war on terror has little to do with manhood and much to do with the "smarthood" to recognize the nature of the threat.

GUTMANN: There are many kinds of masculinity. The war on terror, if it is to succeed, will have to mobilize and train some of the less attractive varieties. True manhood allows for feeling and sympathy, but in the dark war against terror, nothing that resembles sentimentality is permitted. That war is largely fought in urban precincts among civilians who will often sympathize with and abet the terrorist. Counter-terror and even torture are sometimes required to extract vital information before the next bomb goes off. In effect, the counter-terrorist will only gain his enemy's respect if he shows a savagery that is equal to the enemy's. We can be thankful that such qualities are not prized among us; but some Americans will have to acquire them.

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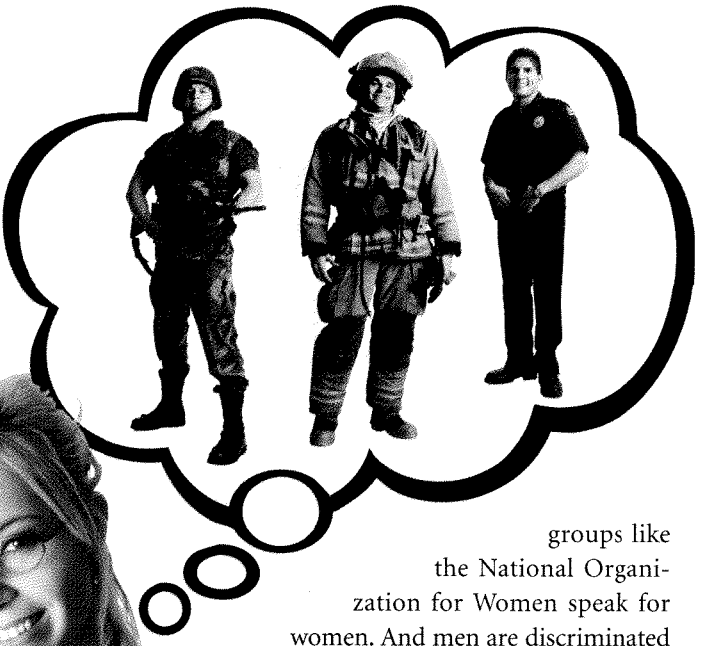
The State of Modern Manhood—What Women Think

The Kind of Men Society Needs—and Women Want



The American Enterprise *recently invited six spirited women to come to our offices to talk about the condition of the male species. For comparison's sake, we asked many of the same questions we posed to the male panelists in our previous symposium (see "Men on Men" on pages 24-27). Karina Rollins moderated the discussion. The participants:*

- *Mona Charen, nationally syndicated columnist and author of* Useful Idiots
- *Jessica Gavora, author of* Tilting the Playing Field *and new mom*
- *Charlotte Hays, editor of* The Women's Quarterly
- *Kate O'Beirne, Washington editor of* National Review
- *Naomi Schaefer, fellow with the Ethics and Public Policy Center*
- *Erica Walter, at-home mom and Catholic writer*

KARINA ROLLINS: What is your overall assessment of masculinity today?

KATE O'BEIRNE: Generally positive—as it always *has* been, despite the efforts of the elites. And September 11 made it more difficult for liberals to criticize traditional male characteristics and virtues.

ERICA WALTER: Manliness has experienced a renaissance for two reasons: The Bush/Cheney administration has set the tone for the political culture. And 9/11, of course. Why did America fall in love with soldiers and firemen and traditional male occupations? Because we realized we're at risk. The comeback of manliness is here to stay as long as national security is an issue.

JESSICA GAVORA: I am distressed by the degree to which feminism still carries political weight. Even under the current administration there is a continuing belief that groups like the National Organization for Women speak for women. And men are discriminated against in public policy, as in federal legislation like Title IX, the program to bolster female athletics in college. In the private realm we're in better shape.

MONA CHAREN: Women used to rely on gentlemen to protect them from louts and predators. Then feminists decided that sisterhood will protect women and give them power in the world, and they dumped all men into the "bad" category. That made it much harder for men to perform their traditional role of protectors of women. I was in college when feminism was reaching its apex. In the 1970s at Barnard College, the kinds of young men one met there were *confused*. They had no idea what they were doing or supposed to be

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doing in regard to women. After college, I went to work at *National Review* and found that conservative men were *not* confused.

CHARLOTTE HAYS: The modern-day loss of respect for manliness is an aberration. Men and their virtues have always been prized. The great epics aren't about women and their virtues. The post-9/11 love affair with police, firemen, and soldiers is a return of normal relations between men and women. Most people today never needed to be carried out of a burning building. But once they see 3,000 people that need to be rescued, they know it takes men.

9/11 reminded us that we depend on men to keep us safe.

O'BEIRNE: We were reminded on 9/11 and again during the military efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq that we depend on manly characteristics to keep us safe. Every single one of the dead firemen heroes on 9/11 were men. This was one group where liberals didn't ask why there wasn't a more pleasing gender balance. Because the Upper West Side is not fireproof. What happens in combat in some distant field is abstract to Upper West Side liberals, but they can understand the need to have strong, brave, reckless men in their fire department.

WALTER: When it comes to role confusion among men themselves, though, I believe the damage of the '60s and '70s has persisted. During my first pregnancy, I rode the Washington, D.C. subway every day. I was amazed at the number of men who didn't offer me their seat, didn't lift a finger for me. A Marine friend of mine, who is a normal, manly man, got so angry that he rode the subway with me, and in full cars pointedly asked men: "Would you please give up your seat for this young lady?" The request meant: "Will you do what you're supposed to do?"

GAVORA: Is that actual confusion, or simply what the feminist deal sealed for women? Our "equality" has come at a price. Truly equal standing in society for men and women might require the sacrifice of chivalry. How can men treat women in special, flowery ways, yet walk into a boardroom and face them as hard-nosed equals? I'm not sure that's a balance men are capable of.

ROLLINS: So are traditional manners necessarily linked to some sort of inequality?

HAYS: There are things you simply lose if you have as many women in the workforce as we do. A man's not going to stand up every time a woman walks into the room at a board meeting.

O'BEIRNE: I don't think there has to be a trade off. Men will behave however women demand they behave. I don't spend time with male boors, so I don't think most American men lack manners. British men are terribly mannerly, but they're all wimps. I think well-raised American men have the ability to be thoroughly masculine and mannerly at the same time.

CHAREN: Feminists used to agonize over questions like, "Can you be an executive and still wear skirt?" We realize today that, yes, of course you can. You can still be feminine, look pretty, and have a high-powered job. You can still enjoy the attentions of men and yet be taken seriously. It's just a matter of maturity on everyone's part and I don't see any necessary inconsistency.

GAVORA: Women are perfectly capable of that balance, but are men? After watching the movie *Titanic,* I was wrenched by the image of all those men dying simply because they were men. The notion of allowing all women and children into the boats first—I think most men today would ask, "Why? Why should I die?"

WALTER: They do ask themselves why, and that's why the phenomenon of 9/11 heroism was such a revelation, especially to men. There have been recent articles in the press about how the war in Iraq caused many middle-aged men to look at the heroism of young Americans, and ask themselves: "Why didn't I join the military?" It made them feel quite inadequate. I think that men lost their way.

CHAREN: It's part of men's nature to want to take that role—they want to be heroic, to be the saviors, the self-sacrificers. Just as it's part of women's nature to want to nurture children. This society has been groping around in the dark, pretending that those basic elemental things aren't true. But nature doesn't die. Many men felt guilty for avoiding the draft during Vietnam, felt their manhood had been diminished in some way.

ROLLINS: Can women who are CEOs or helicopter pilots in the military really expect men to treat them differently because they are women, not as one of the guys? Would that even make sense?

HAYS: If I were on the front line, or a helicopter pilot, I would still expect the same politeness I would anywhere. But that's why women shouldn't be there: If a woman and a man are in combat together, the man, if he's been brought up right, will sacrifice his life for the woman. And that's the way it should be—which is why we have to define roles and keep women out of certain ones.

WALTER: An equality that slips into androgyny, with interchangeable men and women, just doesn't seem true to human nature. There are certain things that a woman can't do as well as a man. There are certain things that a man can't do as well as a woman. Feminism refuses to confront that basic bedrock.

HAYS: In a rich, frivolous, fat society—ours, pre-9/11—you can play around with roles. You can say you want women to do all sorts of male jobs. But when you're attacked, you don't want to rely on a woman to rescue you from a burning building.

O'BEIRNE: It's the difference between the gender makeup of the New York City Fire Department—where out of 11,000 firemen there are fewer than 50 women, because there's no such thing as peacetime for the fire department—and the gender makeup of the American military, where right after the Cold War it looked like we'd never go to war again, so we could fool around with lowering the physical demands of the military.

ROLLINS: Will modern cushy lifestyles turn us all into wimps?

CHAREN: Not only men but also women have lost some of their fortitude. All of us are part of this more therapeutic, whiny culture where everybody wants to file a lawsuit instead of show-

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ing courage in adversity. I read the *Little House on the Prairie* series to my boys. The books are about frontier life, and you learn that those girls and women were tough as nails. They had to be; it was a matter of survival. Laura Ingalls Wilder describes waking up in the winter to find her blankets covered with snow. She would get up and crack the ice in the wash bowl.

But September 11 showed that we still produce people who are courageous and strong. Ordinary businessmen could pull it together and overwhelm terrorists, despite all the years of cushy life. It's easy to get soft and the trick is to not forget those virtues and not allow yourself to become a pushover.

WALTER: Modern urban life itself is especially hard on males. Where in the modern world can men be men? The frontier's gone. We're all so alienated from nature. If all people grew up on farms they would know instinctively that there are differences between boys and girls. But modern society, with all its conveniences, makes it very, very easy to deny nature.

O'BEIRNE: Anyone married with children appreciates why children need fathers. The typical mother of a second-grade boy is destroyed if he's not invited to a certain birthday party. Mothers would wrap sons in cotton. It's the fathers who instill the sense of risk-taking, of the stiff upper lip.

NAOMI SCHAEFER: But what about daughters? They often need to know how to keep a stiff upper lip, too. Whatever the problems with feminism, I guess I'm sort of glad that it all happened.

CHAREN: It would be wrong not to give feminism some credit for improving women's place in the world. But I believe many of these changes would have happened organically anyway—with rising prosperity, labor-saving devices in the home, and widespread education. You didn't need a bunch of bra-burners for that.

GAVORA: My main complaint against feminists is that in the name of choice, they have taken away so many choices. They have demonized motherhood and traditional masculinity.

ROLLINS: Why are there so many wimpy male journalists?

CHAREN: Because they're liberals. Not to say there aren't some conservative wimps. But conservatives never really bought into the notion of androgyny or into feminism, and so conservative men never felt the need to abandon their manliness. Liberal men, on the other hand, thought that was being enlightened. So, since most journalists are liberal, a lot of them are wimpy.

O'BEIRNE: It goes back to how these journalists spent their high school years, which I assume was being stuffed into lockers by other males. This also explains the whole media love affair with John McCain. He created a fighter pilot ready-room in the back of his bus and told off-color jokes and brought these former high school nerds into the circle of the cool guy. They were so thrilled that one of the jocks was finally paying attention to them that they just swooned.

ROLLINS: Are today's parents raising warriors or wimps?

SCHAEFER: When men aren't inculcated with manly virtues they don't become wimps, they become hoodlums. Recently I found myself walking around Manhattan in the aftermath of the Puerto Rican Day Parade: hordes of post-adolescent men wandering around, leering at women, making rude comments. That's what happens when you don't have fathers. It's not that boys become gay and effeminate and go work for the *New York Times*.

O'BEIRNE: Pat Moynihan warned us about predatory males being raised by single moms.

ROLLINS: What is your definition of virility? Does it have a role in political leadership?

WALTER: It's a nebulous quality for a political leader. Bill Clinton was virile—in a very sleazy way. There's also the sex appeal of someone like Don Rumsfeld. President Bush possesses this intangible something—you really saw it on the deck of the *USS Abraham Lincoln*. Testosterone and camaraderie—many people responded to it. In George W. Bush, people see a contained, channeled virility. They see a man who does what he says, whose every speech and act is not calculated. Bill Clinton showed a lot of outward empathy and he was very articulate but I don't think many of us would have trusted him with our daughters.

GAVORA: If virility equates with strength, then there is no question that Bill Clinton lacked it completely. Bush has shown that he has it. His willingness to go after terrorism root and branch despite the widespread opposition among our European allies and even some at home, and to withstand that pressure, is strength. Bill Clinton made surface gestures. He refused to go against the media, popular opinion, the pinstriped boys at the State Department, because he lacked that strength.

HAYS: The most masculine man I ever knew was my grandfather, who supported seven children and never failed to stand when a woman came into the room. Bill Clinton is virile, but he's not masculine or mature. He never became a grown man.

O'BEIRNE: When I heard that he grew up jumping rope with the girls in his neighborhood, I knew everything I needed to know about Bill Clinton. There's no contest between Clinton and Bush on masculinity. Bill Clinton couldn't credibly wear jogging shorts, and look at George Bush in that flight suit.

ROLLINS: But why do so many American women love Bill Clinton?

SCHAEFER: You can learn a lot jumping rope with girls. It won't make you sexually attractive, but it will make you a more effective, patient listener.

O'BEIRNE: Bill Clinton did understand, from the matriarchy he grew up in, how to appeal to women in that modern way.

HAYS: Clinton could feel your pain like one of your girlfriends. But he could never make a decision like Bush has had to make. He would still be trying to negotiate with the terrorists. The use of force, which until recently was passé, has come back. Clinton couldn't use force except in a motel room.

ROLLINS: Who has been hurt more by the confusion of sex roles?

HAYS: Men. Women now predominate on college campuses. Women are moving into men's jobs. Masculinity is under attack. It's men who are being shoved out and hurt more.

WALTER: Men, definitely. In the 1960s, equality rolled over America like a steamroller. That was terrible for men. It was bad for women too, but women gained a lot: equality in the workplace, a place at the table, especially women who didn't want to have babies or get married. But men lost. Men got the right to

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become louts, to prey on the new promiscuity of feminists who where touting sexual liberation.

CHAREN: You could argue that women who were highly career-oriented and did not want to have children gained. But women who wanted to be wives and mothers and were looking for a man to marry them and provide a home and stability, they lost really badly. I have enjoyed having a career as well as being a mother, and I actually think the ideal situation for most women is to have both. But the fact that men were freed from all traditional responsibilities has hurt women and children extremely badly.

ROLLINS: How open do you think today's young people are to the concept that identities are linked to sex?

O'BEIRNE: They have been sternly told that that's not the case ever since they can remember, despite all the evidence and common experience from the playground on up. But when these weird education efforts so conflict with human experience and nature, they typically are not successful. The Soviets found that out.

CHAREN: Why are people so afraid of reality? All the studies of girls' and boys' academic performance show that the boys' curve is more shallow and longer; there are more at the very bottom and more at the very top. Girls have a steeper bell curve, they are more clustered in the middle. There will be more geniuses and more idiots among men than among women. Good or bad, it's a fact.

ROLLINS: Is the popularity of reality shows like "Survivor," which include a lot of physical survival skills, evidence of a desire to see masculine traits in action?

HAYS: "Survivor" isn't really about male survival traits.

O'BEIRNE: It's about interpersonal relationships, which makes me think it's got a female audience. Men are bored with that stuff.

HAYS: It's basically a gossip thing: Who are we going to vote off now? And the guys who've won have been light in the loafers.

ROLLINS: What's behind men's interest in guns, truck racing, wrestling, etc.? Are these positive masculine traits, or just gross?

WALTER: They are truly masculine things and a mystery to me.

GAVORA: These interests show up in tiny little boys. When my little brother was a baby and could barely sit up, he loved nothing better than to sit on my dad's tractor.

CHAREN: As a mother of three sons, I have learned to accept and go with the flow. I no longer shudder at the sight of a snake. I say "boys come and see the nice snake." I've even learned to love trucks.

O'BEIRNE: The same interests find expression in men's aggression, their risk-taking, their respect for power. It's all those same characteristics that make them good husbands, providers, fathers, soldiers, and firemen. I don't see anything wrong with liking monster truck racing. My husband once brought our boys to one of those events and I held my breath the whole time they were gone. I was so afraid there would be an accident and for the rest of my life I'd have to explain to people that I lost the three of them in a monster truck rally. But I don't think there's anything wrong with it. Look at the guy with the Mercedes, with the zillion-horsepower engine—it holds the same appeal to power and speed.

Without manly virtues men become hoodlums, not wimps.

ROLLINS: Is there anything people can do to get the male-female relationship back into balance? How do we keep the post-9/11 rebound of traditional manliness going?

CHAREN: The uniqueness of men and their contribution to the world needs to be recognized and celebrated. Men need to be reminded that their most important functions in life are within the family, not in the marketplace. As fathers, they teach girls what it means to have a man treat them well. Girls who grow up without fathers tend to get abused badly because they have no model for a man being nice to them. Fathers teach boys to be gentlemen. Sons learn from how the father treats the mother.

WALTER: Encourage marriage among young people. One of the worst demographic trends in this country is the marriage rate, which has been plunging for decades. I also really hope that the renewed interest among men in serving in the military will continue. Armed service allows men to test themselves. It gives them worthy ideals and lets them emulate honorable, strong men. The military is also one of the only places left for men to be in an almost exclusively male atmosphere. Women need female friends and men need male camaraderie. It brings out the best in both. And there is one arena in which men can still be men, and still find lots of opportunities to exhibit heroism—fatherhood.

HAYS: Masculinity will come back from its recent eclipse for two reasons: We live in a more dangerous world where we need strong men. And most of all: biology. It simply can't be denied.

SCHAEFER: I think there's a role for religion to play. Men's involvement in churches over the last few decades has decreased. At most religious colleges, the environment is much more tipped in favor of women. I wonder whether churches couldn't do more to encourage manly virtues.

O'BEIRNE: I'm pessimistic about the role of religion given that most of the mainline churches have been so feminized.

HAYS: Religion is always under attack from feminizers, and too many of today's religious leaders don't have the guts to stand up and talk about how men and women are really different.

SCHAEFER: Churches could be a plus if run the right way.

O'BEIRNE: Right. But I don't think that groups like Promise Keepers are very helpful. I'm not encouraged when I see a stadium filled with men hugging each other. Just go home and be a man.

ROLLINS: Do today's women really not want more modern, equality-minded, sensitive men?

O'BEIRNE: No. Women don't want a guy to feel their pain, they want a guy to clean the gutters.

WALTER: God save us from modern men.

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The Manliness of Men

By Harvey Mansfield

Today the very word "manliness" seems obsolete.

There are other words, such as "courage," "frankness," or "confidence," that convey the good side of manliness without naming a sex. But to use them in place of "manliness" begs the question of whether moral or psychological qualities specific to each sex exist. Our society today denies that such differences are real, and seeks to abolish all signs of such qualities in our language. To the extent that feminism recognizes gender differences at all, it presents them as bad, and as the fault of men.

The women's revolution has succeeded to an amazing degree. Our society has adopted, quite without realizing the magnitude of the change, a practice of equality between the sexes never before known in human history. My intent is not to stand in the way of this change. Women are not going to be herded back into the kitchen by men. But we need to recognize that there have

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been both gains and losses in this revolution.

Manliness can be heroic. But it can also be vainly boastful, prone to meaningless scuffling, and unfriendly. It jeers at those who do not seem to measure up, and asks men to continually prove themselves. It defines turf and fights for it—sometimes to defend precious rights, sometimes for no good reason. Manliness has always been under a cloud of doubt—raised by men who may not have the time or taste for it.

The manly male protects women, but is a sorry flop when it comes to sensitivity.

But such doubts about manliness can hardly be found in today's feminism. Contemporary feminists, and the women they influence, have essentially a single problem with manliness: that it excludes women. Betty Friedan's feminist classic *The Feminine Mystique* is not an attack on manliness, but on femininity. It insists women should be strong and aggressive—like men.

Though the word is scarce in use, there is an abundance of manliness in action in America today. Young males still pick fights, often with deadly weapons. What we suffer from today, is a lack of intelligent *criticism* of manliness. Feminism has undermined, if not destroyed, the counterpart to manliness—femininity—and with it the basis on which half the population could be skeptical of the excesses of manliness.

Of course, women are still women. While they want men to be sensitive to women, they don't necessarily want them to be sensitive in general. That's why the traditional manly male—who is protective of women, but a sorry flop when it comes to sensitivity—is far from a disappearing species.

Manliness offers gallantry to women. But is gallantry fundamentally insincere because it always contains an element of disdain? The man who opens a door for a woman makes a show of being stronger than she, one could say. At the same time, the woman does go first. Manly men are romantic about women; unmanly men are sympathetic. Which is better for women?

The "sensitive male" who mimics many female emotions and interests, while discarding the small favors men have traditionally done for women, is mostly just a creation of contemporary feminists who are irritated with the ways of men, no longer tolerant of their foibles, and demanding new behavior that would pave the way for ambitious women. Feminists insist that men must work harder to appreciate women. Yet they never ask women to be more understanding of men.

Manliness is a quality that causes individuals to stand up for something. It is a quality that calls private persons into public life. In the past such people have been predominantly male, and it is no accident that those who possess this quality have often ended up as political rulers and leaders.

Manly men defend their turf, just as other male mammals do. The analogy to animals obviously suggests something animalistic about manliness. But manliness is specifically human as well. Manly men defend not just their turf but their country. Manliness is best shown in war, the defense of one's country at its most difficult and dangerous. In Greek, the word for manliness, *andreia*, is also the word for courage.

For good and for ill, males impelled by their manliness have dominated all politics of which we know. Is there something inevitable about this domination or are we free to depart from it? With more and more countries moving toward democracy and peace, perhaps manliness will become less necessary.

Yet there might also be a democratic manliness. In democracies, Tocqueville said, a manly frankness prevails—an open and fearless stance of "man to man" in which all are equal. Does democracy, then, tend to produce, and require, manliness?

Feminists find all sexual roles objectionable. They are insulted by the idea that nature has determined different social parts and purposes for the sexes. They have largely forced the abandonment of any idea of sexual nature in favor of the feminist notion of "choice." A woman today has the choice of every occupation that used to be reserved for men, *plus* traditional women's roles. Inevitably, "choice" for women opens up choices for men too. What happens when men are no longer pressed to face the duties that used to go with being a man? Traditionally, the performance of a man's duties has required him to protect and support his family. To be a man means to support dependents, not merely yourself.

But the modern woman above all does not want to be a dependent. She may not have thought about what her independence does to the manliness of men (it might make men more selfish). And she may not have considered carefully whether the protection she does without will be replaced by sensitivity, or by neglect. The statistics on male abandonment of their children in our day are not heart-warming.

According to feminists, any traditional notion that the different sexes complement each other serves merely to justify the inferiority of women. On its face, complementarity suggests real equality—each sex is superior in its place. But if you are sure that the best positions have been the men's, and that women have been the "second sex," then in order to achieve equality you must go for full interchangeability of the sexes. You must deny any natural preponderance of one quality or another in men and women.

Do men and women have different natures that justify different social roles? Or are these natures just "socially constructed"? If women can conclude that their roles have been designed artificially by society, then they are free to remake themselves without constraint. But the latest science suggests that being a man or a

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woman is much more than having certain bodily equipment (see the article below). Perhaps men and women are characterized more by how they think than by their sexual organs.

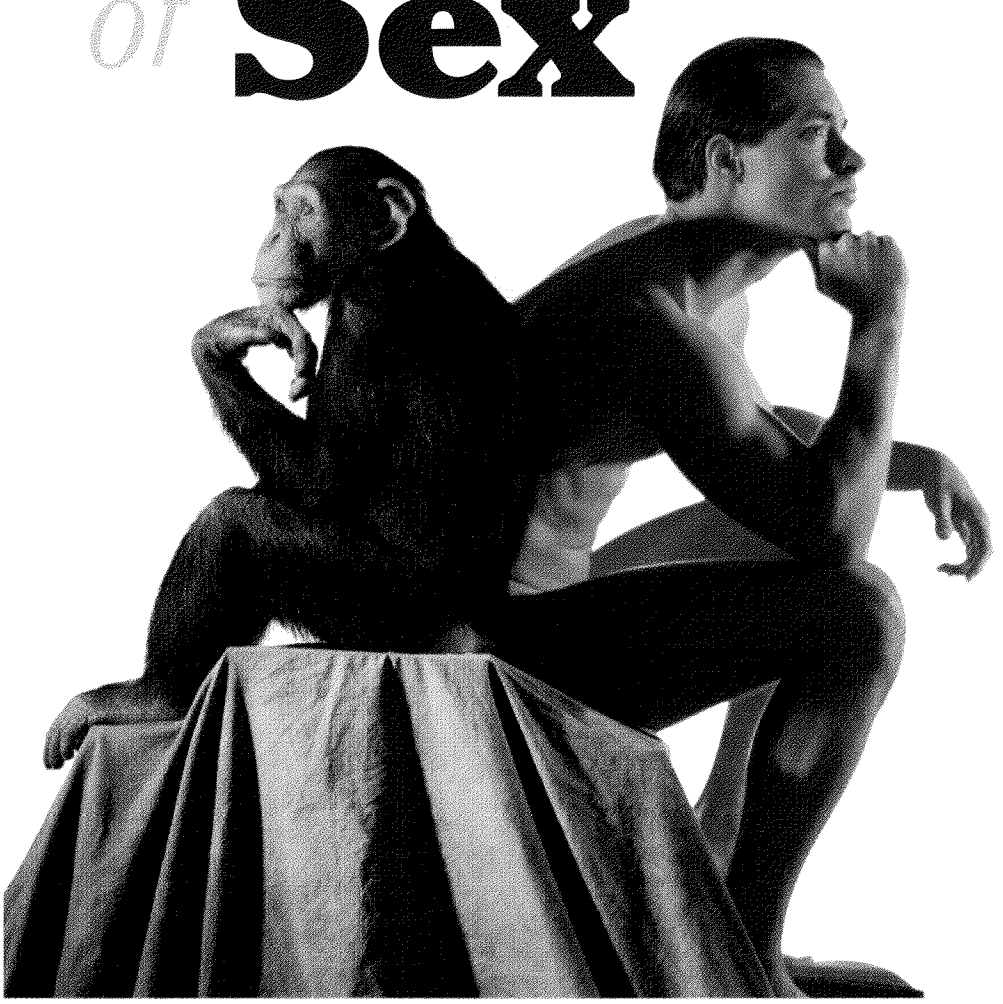
While maleness is partly just a fact of biology, in humans it is linked to thinking and reason in ways that make manliness something much more than mere aggression. In humans, masculinity is more than just defense of one's own; it has been extended to require noble sacrifice for a cause beyond oneself.

Certainly, women reason and sacrifice too, and they are not devoid of aggressiveness. But their participation in these things is not "equal." As Aristotle said, men find it easier to be courageous—and women find it easier to be moderate. Of course, you cannot avoid Aristotle's qualifier, "for the most part."

For the most part, men will always have more manliness than women have, and it is up to both sexes to fashion this fact into something good.

The New Science of Sex

By Iain Murray



Two centuries ago, proto-feminist Mary Wollstonecraft wrote a treatise entitled "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" in which she theorized that men and women are essentially the same. The roles they play, she suggested, are merely social constructs. The buzz phrase since then has been that "the mind has no sex."

But there is growing scientific evidence that the mind does have a sex, and that other unexpected components of the body have a sex as well. An article in the *New York Times Magazine* by former *New Republic* editor Andrew Sullivan helped start the sex-difference debate up again early in 2000. After experiencing upsurges in various feelings since he began injecting testosterone in order to combat the effects of his disease (Sullivan is HIV positive), he started to look into the scientific research on testosterone's consequences. Although the different effects of male and female hormones have been known for some time, the research that Sullivan uncovered indicates a much more fundamental role for testosterone than was previously acknowledged. There are significant differences between men and women in their brains and genes as well.

There are two strands to this data: animal research and human research. Newborn female rats develop penises and the willingness to use them after injection with testosterone. While male zebra finches sing, females don't unless they are injected with the hormone. In species where females are dominant, meanwhile, such as certain hyenas, the females naturally have higher levels of testosterone than the males. Among animals, it seems to be testosterone that is associated with "male" behavior.

Much the same is true in humans. One study Sullivan cited

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showed that men (and women) with high testosterone levels "experienced more arousal and tension than those low in testosterone.... They spent more time thinking, especially about concrete problems in the immediate present. They wanted to get things done and felt frustrated when they could not." Human studies show that our testosterone levels rise in response to confrontation and sexual situations. Athletes' testosterone rises in competition, and it remains high in the event of victory, but lowers in defeat. The same is true, interestingly, of the fans following the sport.

All this holds true for both men and women. The crucial difference is that men have 250 to 1,000 nanograms of testosterone per deciliter of blood plasma, while women have 15 to 70. Testosterone is crucial in making men men—literally. It is an infusion of testosterone around six weeks after conception that makes an embryo male (the default sex for humanity is female), and it is a further rush at puberty that lowers male voices, produces body hair and builds muscles. Testosterone is clearly associated with aggression and risk-taking.

Testosterone is crucial in making men men —literally.

We know, however, that testosterone levels can be influenced by the social environment. An Emory University study found that an alpha-male monkey had, as expected, high testosterone levels, but that placing him in an environment with hostile females lowered his testosterone levels to those of submissive males. His initially high testosterone levels did not protect him or maintain his dominance. So while testosterone is important, it does not seem to be the final determining factor in what makes men and women different.

What about genetics, then? Males possess a Y chromosome, which women do not. The role of genetics in sex is much deeper than that, though. It is now generally accepted, for instance, that it is the father's genes that build the placenta. This is one aspect of a mysterious process known as "imprinting," whereby the genes of placental mammals seem to remember from which parent they come. This is why, so far, it has proved very difficult to create a functioning embryo from the genes of "parents" of the same sex (and why it proved so difficult to create a viable mammalian clone).

One of the most interesting aspects of imprinting is that, in mice, there is a gene that determines "good" motherhood. A female mouse who fails to have the gene imprinted is perfectly normal except that she will build a poor nest, allow her pups to wander off, and fail to keep them clean. Her pups, not surprisingly, usually die. The responsible gene is inherited from the father. The mother's gene never imprints.

Something similar may apply to humans. A study by researchers from the Institute of Child Health in London looked at "Turner's Syndrome" girls, who are missing the paternal X chromosome. These girls scored lower on recognizing other people's feelings, realizing the effect of their behavior on others, obeying commands, and interacting socially. They acted like geeky men.

Simon Baron-Cohen, a psychiatrist at Cambridge University, is one of the world's leading experts on autism, which affects boys more than girls by a factor of eight to one. Autistic children can be extremely withdrawn, but they are not stupid. Many are exceptionally good at certain tasks, generally involving systematizing. They are, however, exceptionally bad—to the point of being unable to function in society—at tasks that involve empathizing with others (just like the Turner's Syndrome girls).

Baron-Cohen has concluded that most people have a mixture of brain types: S for systematizing and E for empathizing. Men, however, are much more likely to lean toward the S-type brain, and women toward the E-type. In his new book *The Essential Difference: The Truth about the Male and Female Brain*, Baron-Cohen concludes that autism is an example of the "extreme male brain." He provides evidence that sex differences in brain types show up again and again in tests, even in babies as young as one day old.

It should be stressed that not all men have male brains, and not all women have female brains. We are talking about general patterns here. In the case of hormones, genes, and brain architecture there is clear evidence that nature tends in different directions for men and women, but obviously individuals vary. And the way a person is raised—the nurture in addition to nature—plays a role in his or her sexual identity as well.

But most often, nature will win out. As it did in the case of a boy in the 1960s whose circumcision was botched so badly it was decided to castrate him and raise him as a girl. In 1973, Freudian psychologist John Money of Johns Hopkins University declared to the world that "Joan" was becoming a well-adjusted teenage girl, thereby confirming the theories of Wollstonecraft and her successors that sex was a thing imposed, not something innate. But investigators tracked Joan down in 1997. They found a person who had always felt deeply, inexplicably unhappy as a woman, had eventually discovered the truth about himself, taken steps to reverse his sex change, and ended up as a happily married man.

And then there are the genetic revelations. Scientists have found that the Y chromosome is not as small and stunted as previously believed. Humans and chimpanzees famously share 98.5 percent of the same DNA. Judging by the new scientific discoveries, it appears that men and women differ genetically by up to 2 percent. So, genetically speaking, a man is as much like a woman as he is like a chimpanzee.

A guy's wife could have told him that.

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The Car *and* the Man

By Ben Stein

The automobile—the Toyota, the Cadillac, the Buick, the Subaru, the Ford, the Jaguar, the Plymouth, the Bentley—is essentially a dream. No, it's better than that. It is a dream come true. For men.

For all of his existence, from the stone age until the last century, man was weak, slow, vulnerable to wind and weather. Man could basically move at the same speed in the early nineteenth century as he could in the fiftieth century B.C., when he fought off saber-toothed tigers. His worldview was shaped by his slowness—walking, at best riding a horse—dwarfed by the immeasurable distances of planet Earth. Man was puny and was constantly reminded of it by his pitiful slowness at getting from place to place, and his weary body. Above him in the ancient world were the gods, who flitted with lightning speed. Man was a mortal, doomed to crawl through life at a snail's pace.

Man could do some things to make himself stronger. He could put on armor, which protected him to some extent from the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. But the armor also hindered him, constricted him, slowed him down. Man could ride a horse, but the horse also tired, also was mortal, also needed food and water and rest.

This was galling to man, because men are the physical sex, the ones who need to show dominance and strength. Men got where they were through force and power and endurance, as compared with women, who succeeded through beauty

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and tenderness and understanding (and poison, if need be). But the limitations of even the strongest man were pitiful, especially in comparison with the legends of the endless strength and speed and durability of the gods. All about man were the signs of his weakness, in his own flesh and bone and muscle.

Then came the automobile, the modern, mighty, potent vehicle of the twentieth century. Suddenly man was infinitely powerful. More than that, man was no longer just man. Man became a Greek god. Man could be the man he'd wanted to be since the dawn of mankind. Man could zoom from place to place with dazzling speed. Man could be in New York in the morning and in Washington, D.C. at noon. Man could travel at speeds of which he had only dreamed, at any time and place of his choosing, in privacy, across vast plains and valleys.

My Corvette turned me from a bureaucrat into a god.

Man was no longer hamstrung by distance or heat or fatigue. The car was the suit of magic armor that man could put on to make himself the immortal warrior he had always dreamed of being. Suddenly, in just a few generations, the man who had left his cottage to plod miserably along a muddy road, could suit up in his car, strap on his deity's wings and fly down the freeway carrying hundreds of pounds of freight with him effortlessly. Man could do anything he wanted in terms of travel in climate-controlled comfort with sounds on the stereo that drowned out any thoughts of his mortality, all for pennies per mile. And he felt like a king, no, mightier than any king or conqueror—for what could Napoleon or Caesar have conjured up that was even remotely comparable to the car?

If you want to see this evolution of mankind happening in microcosm, see man rise from the primordial ooze to the summit of earthly and heavenly power in just a few days, consider the young man and his first car. I saw this in June when our son came home from boarding school, armed with his learner's permit and a fairly good report card, to claim the car he had been promised for such achievements.

We had agreed upon a vehicle after much negotiation. It was a great car: a sporty but safe (we hope and pray) Subaru WRX all-wheel-drive sedan. When I took my son to the dealer to sign the paperwork, he was slouched and anxious. When he took a test drive, he was excited. When his old Pop signed the papers that would let Tommy drive it whenever he wanted he stood up straight and mighty, his biceps bulging like Achilles before the walls of Troy. As I write, he has had that car for one week, and he has moved into a zone of dazzling self-confidence and happiness that I would not have dreamed possible in his formerly sulky self. He no longer feels like a vulnerable child. He feels like a man.

It reminds me of the first sports car I ever got: my glorious 1962 Corvette. Shiny, shiny red with a customized mighty V-8 that moved it so fast it "caught rubber" as I shifted from third to fourth at 100 miles per hour. In those days, in my dreary office at the Federal Trade Commission, I felt like a shlub, a loser, a failure. When I got into the car, the one my mother called "the hell machine," I was a god of power, prestige, and sexiness. I can still recall the girls gazing at me longingly as I hurtled along Pennsylvania and Massachusetts Avenues on my way to teach part time at American University. To them, Ben Stein was not the guy in that fiberboard walled office at the FTC. He was the coolest guy ever, in his Corvette with the wind ripping through his hair as he drove along in that mighty, tireless beast. From a bureaucrat to a god. That was what that Corvette did for me.

And think of the world of difference between men and women and their cars. Sure, women often express satisfaction with their cars. My wife is certainly happy with hers as it lurks, grinning with its BMW 7 series power in our garage, and as she drives it at heart-stopping speed on the freeway. But does she love it? Is she defined by her car the way a man is by his? Would she sacrifice, work two jobs, stay up late and wash her own shirts drip dry to have that car, as I did to have my Corvette?

Cars are often men's best friends. The car is always there, waiting patiently in its lair, waiting only for the garage door to be opened to rip into the stratosphere of Mount Olympus and Valhalla carrying the man. The car does not make judgments, does not complain, does not get jealous. The car exists to serve and to exalt. What better friend could there be for a modern man?

Yes, the car pollutes, consumes resources, and clutters up once-cute city streets. But think of what the car does for man: It makes him feel good about himself, takes away his loneliness, confers a feeling of immortality, is a kind of steel-chrome-glass Viagra. Never mind the immense, boundless additions to the economy or the ability to connect communities.

Long ago, a smallish, easy-to-handle revolver was invented in the Wild West, or so the story goes. The Colt pistol was soon called "the equalizer" because it made puny weaklings a match for big bad bullies. But the car is a far greater equalizer. It matches men with gods, with their dreams. In that greatest of all American novels, *The Great Gatsby*, F. Scott Fitzgerald describes the Dutch sailors when they first saw Long Island and then found the boundless continent rolling on endlessly behind it: They beheld for the first time something that equaled the magnitude of human imagination. When the male of the species first beheld the automobile and turned that key, he unlocked a machine whose power matched his wildest dreams. That match was made in heaven and is eternal.

We love our cars, and we will never let them go.

Ben Stein is a lawyer, writer, economist, TV personality, and car lover.

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The Manliness of Art

By Catesby Leigh

From the modest semi-attached house where he spent his early childhood, Alexander Stoddart could get a good view of a roadside monument to Sir William Wallace—the Scottish insurgent these days better known as Braveheart, courtesy of Mel Gibson—just by looking out his parents' bedroom window. The house is in the village of Elderslie, now a Glasgow exurb, but in medieval times the site of the Wallace family estate.

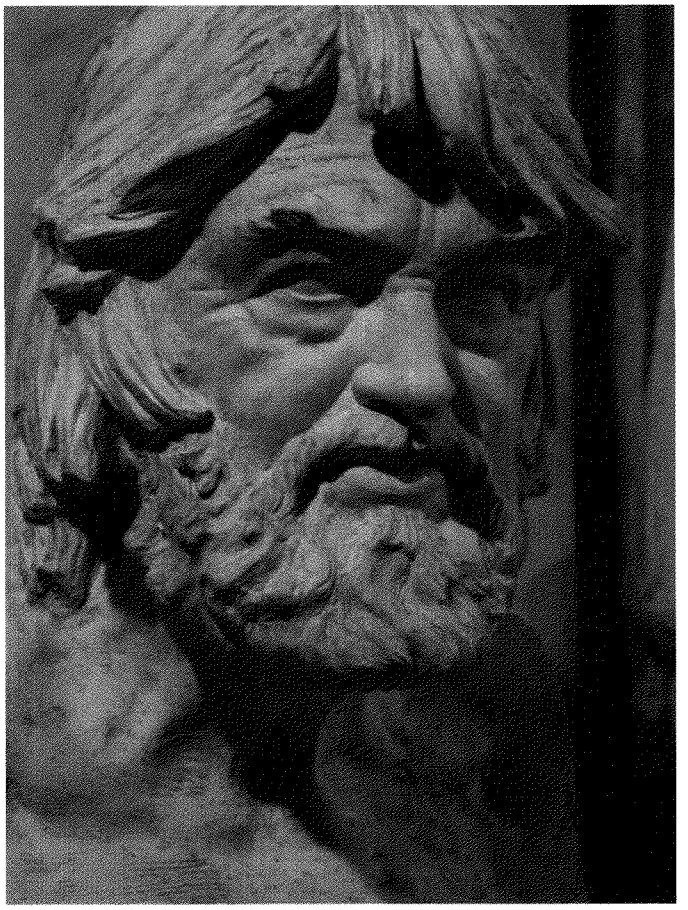
In 1912, more than 600 years after Wallace's revolt against Edward I of England ended with his execution in London, the locals honored their hero with this handsome granite pile. A crown rests on a polygonal shaft to which a sword is bound by a garland. Below lies a drum with four relief panels that show scenes from the rebellion. Whether in battle or with his hand on the Bible to take the oath as Guardian of Scotland, Wallace appears in the panels with a heroic musculature, always with the torso exposed.

This monument was an early inspiration for Stoddart, 44, the world's most accomplished classical sculptor. To this day, the muscular, idealized male figure that is a central element of the classical tradition has little to do in Stoddart's mind with machismo or vainglory or bloodlust or any of the other unflattering tags to be expected from many cultural commentators.

For Stoddart, that torso is indistinguishable from what the Romans called *virtus,* derived from *vir,* the Latin word for the male of the species. *Virtus* refers not only to manliness, physical strength, vigor, and bravery, but to moral qualities of goodness and high character. Virtue, in a word. All of Stoddart's historical statues and nearly all of his busts are of males. His female figures are goddesses, legendary characters, or personifications of subjects as diverse as Italy or historic libraries.

All this might make Stoddart sound like a rather quaint character, a dreamer toiling away in a wretched little shed or garret, condemned to small-time status in a post-modern culture generally allergic to virile, heroic, and monumental qualities in art.

In fact, he is thriving. In recent years, he has completed major works at the Queen's Gallery at Buckingham Palace, Oxford and Princeton universities, and on Edinburgh's Royal Mile. Moreover, Stoddart and his wife Catriona, who handles his business affairs, are in negotiations for a major BBC documentary about the quest for the ideal male form since the age of Polycleitus, the great Greek sculptor of the fifth century B.C.



Alexander Stoddart's portrait of his father, graphic designer H.C.Stoddart, one of the "Busts of Men."

All photos by Catesby Leigh.

Despite all this acclaim, a remarkable exhibition of Stoddart busts of ten men who have played a significant role in his career—whether as collaborators, mentors, or patrons—garnered not a column inch in the London newspapers during the two months it was on view in Leeds last year. The very title of the exhibition—"Busts of Men"—was surely more "challenging" and "provocative" to the sensibilities of Britain's arbiters of taste than a crucifix in urine. But by and large, Britain's cultural mandarins continue to act as if Stoddart didn't exist.

The fact remains that Alexander Stoddart, a counter-cultural revolutionary and brass-plated pessimist, has done more than any other living artist to restore the idea of monumentality in

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contemporary civic art. And the moral significance of manhood is central to his artistic outlook.

Last year, Stoddart moved his studio into a Bauhausian box at Scotland's University of Paisley, where he is an honorary professor of art, "teaching computer graphics students about the sublime," as he puts it. The building, which also houses a boiler room and a laboratory, may be modern, but to enter Stoddart's studio is like stepping into a world outside time. Strewn with towering plaster-casts and imposing clay models of gods and great men, along with portrait busts, classical architectural fragments, and a multitude of little clay *bozzetti,* or preliminary models, this studio is dedicated to art, not the artist's ego.

"A statue you want to have sex with is a betrayal of art."

Stoddart does not believe the historic predominance of males in the visual arts is a matter of coincidence or social construct. "In men as opposed to women," he said as we drove to Edinburgh on a bright, bitterly cold January morning to look at his statue of the Enlightenment philosopher David Hume there, "there is a possibility of the dissolution of the self. It is rarely encountered in mankind, but when it happens, it happens more in the male than in the female. I think of renunciation as a male characteristic."

Specimens of government-subsidized "art" occasionally appeared alongside the highway as we spoke: a metal-mesh pony, a curious object resembling a large ventilation pipe on an ocean liner, three turfed pyramids—each of these curiosities reflecting ephemeral, self-referential notions of what art is.

"When self is operative," Stoddart continued, "then give up on art. In the modern age, self is everything. And it can be scientifically observed that art has collapsed. Art is above all the denial of self. Virtue is selflessness."

A lively conversationalist, Stoddart is not physically imposing. Bespectacled, and of medium build, he has always been artistically inclined. His youthful ambition was to be a pianist, and he still finds time to play the piano every day. "Sandy," as he is known, lives in an Italianate villa outside Paisley with Catriona and their three daughters, Clara, 14, Sophie, 12, and Iona, 9.

When he watches his daughters play field hockey on Saturday mornings, Stoddart, not a sports aficionado, recoils in horror at the spectacle of fathers screaming at their sons to maul their opponents on the nearby rugby fields. "An ancient Stoic like Cato the Elder or Marcus Aurelius would look at that behavior and say to them, 'Your conduct is not manly,'" he says. "Unfortunately, our culture regards this behavior—brutal, striving, and self-glorifying—as precisely the attribute of manhood." In art as in life, self-restraint is a token of *virtus.*

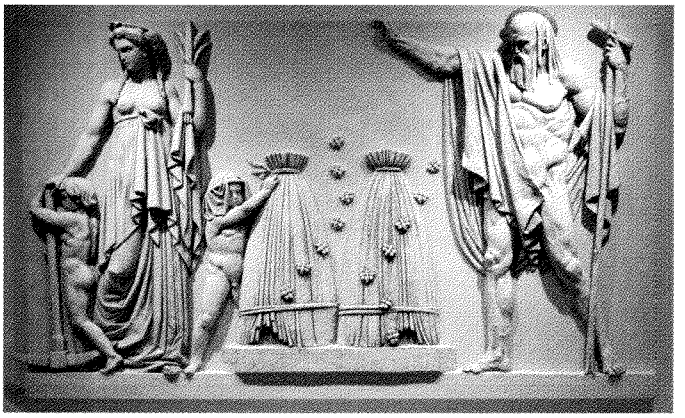
Stoddart entered the Glasgow School of Art at 17. "To be a successful student," Stoddart recalls, "you were almost required to vandalize a plaster cast"—that is, a cast of a classical work used for traditional instruction. As with art academies in the U.S., the Glasgow School's cast collection had been ravaged by vandalism and theft. "I realized that people vandalized the casts because they were incapable of ever doing anything remotely like them," he says. "As Nietzsche said in an aphorism, 'I don't like this because I am not up to it.'" After all, when there are no objective standards of achievement, "the prospect of failure is minimal," Stoddart observes.

Fortunately, the school's cast of the Apollo Belvedere, a classical masterpiece from the Hellenistic era, which opened with the conquests of Alexander the Great and lasted for several centuries, had not been mangled. During his second year, Stoddart decided that the Apollo represented his sculptural ideal. But he also decided to take his cues from a very different model, Rodin, known for his histrionic and decidedly unclassical figures. "I thought I could manage that," Stoddart says. "It was also a bit of a strategic move. He was at the end of the great tradition and at the beginning of modernism."

But even following Rodin's example was considered terribly retro. Political activists at the school started putting out the word that Stoddart was a fifth-columnist for the neo-fascist National Front party that had recently appeared on the British political scene. Stoddart had no ties to the organization whatsoever, but the politicos dubbed him "the Nazi sculptor." Reference to his work as "fascist" is less frequent these days, but the slur has by no means disappeared. So far as contemporary art is concerned, politics is the scoundrel's last refuge.

After finishing art school, Stoddart studied art history. In the course of his grand tour of the Continent, he visited the Copenhagen museum devoted to the work of Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844), who tailored his work to Greek standards of form. Thorvaldsen's better-known Italian counterpart, Antonio Canova (1757-1822), pursued the same course, and the two sculptors are Stoddart's modern exemplars.

After encountering Thorvaldsen's work, Stoddart decided to pursue a classical path. In other words, he opted for a path in



Stoddart's relief panel of St. David, the patron saint of Wales, blessing the bees, in the entrance hall of the Queen's Gallery at Buckingham Palace.

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A stirring figure of the clergyman, educator, and statesman John Witherspoon at Princeton University. Witherspoon was a founder of the College of New Jersey—Princeton today.

which the risk of failure is maximal, not minimal. And he chose not merely the classical, but the monumental. Stoddart did not want his life's work confined to the art gallery; he wanted it in the public square. Eventually, he would meet like-minded architects and intellectuals, most of them allies of Prince Charles in the latter's crusade for traditional architecture and urbanism, which has hardly been the abject failure claimed by the establishment press in Britain and the United States.

Despite years of hardship and deprivation, Stoddart proved increasingly successful in winning the patronage of real estate developers and corporate executives in Scotland and England. He is currently modeling a memorial to Robert Louis Stevenson—statues of the two heroes of *Kidnapped,* Alan Breck Stewart and David Balfour—for Scottish and Newcastle, a major brewery. A rusticated stone base below the niche sheltering the two statues will include a roundel with a relief portrait of Stevenson. The memorial will be a roadside shrine well suited to the wayfaring heroes of Stevenson's novel.

During the 1990s, Stoddart agitated for a Paisley monument to the great Presbyterian preacher John Witherspoon, who was presiding over a parish there at the time he accepted the call to the American colonies, where he would become the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence, and the educator of numerous distinguished political figures of the early Republic. Stoddart won the support of a senior administrator at the University of Paisley, Alex MacLennan (one of the personages represented in the *Busts of Men* exhibition). But the town authorities vacillated on the proposal until Princeton University agreed to acquire a bronze cast of the statue. The Witherspoon is not an exercise in the ethereal classicism. It conforms to a more realistic style in which vestments reflect the period in which the figure lived and in which facial features are more particularized and less abstract. But the Witherspoon's most striking feature is not its realism, which is restrained, but its virility—its embodiment of virtue and authority. This august figure has no doubt whatsoever as to what the meaning of "is" is.

"The primary part of our heresy," Stoddart says of the classical camp, "is that we represent the past, the dead. We're up against a belligerent revolutionist view stuck entirely in the twentieth century. God is dead, living is everything, and the dead are disenfranchised. When the choice is between a statue of Witherspoon and half a shark in a tank of formaldehyde, the Witherspoon has the uphill fight. Half a shark is tolerated on the assumption that Hitler would have detested it." More than just tolerated, in fact; Damien Hirst has won Britain's most prestigious fine-arts award, the Turner Prize, thanks to such gimmicks.

Stoddart's temperamental pessimism is abetted by the fact that despite his Baptist upbringing, he is "becoming increasingly atheistic"—mainly under the influence of the German philosopher Schopenhauer, whom he has been reading since his art school days. Like Schopenhauer, he sees the world as dominated by undirected forces of nature, ranging from gravity, magnetism, and heat to carnal lust.

"I think the war between man and nature redounds greatly to man's credit," he said during the drive to Edinburgh. "Man is the only element in nature that has the aesthetic faculty, and this faculty tends to restrain the raging aspect of nature. I see art as nature turning back on itself, the weapon of man's war against nature... Art is the consolation of man and the redemption of nature."

Stoddart therefore abhors the unbridled naturalism of a great deal of ersatz-traditional art produced these days, exemplified by the transcription of voluptuous female models with libido-inflaming literalness. "When we see the statue of the Venus de Milo"—a great Hellenistic work in the Louvre well known for its idealized beauty—"we don't want to have sex with it. A statue you want to have sex with is a betrayal of art," Stoddart maintains.

The quasi-religious conception of art espoused by Schopenhauer has had a profound influence on Stoddart. But what distinguishes Stoddart from the garden-variety art-world egomaniac of our era is the importance he attributes to art as an exercise not in self-apotheosis, but self-abnegation—the mark, as far as Alexander Stoddart is concerned, of true manliness.

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Me Man, Me Hunt!

By Blake Hurst

When you reach Sidney, Nebraska in the late summer, you've driven about two hours since you've seen anything green. Or any water at all. Just the brown of wheat fields during harvest, parched pasture, and a blue sky that goes on forever.

Then up looms an oasis: Cabela's, the giant hunting and fishing store. In front of Cabela's flagship Sidney store lies a lake of several acres. The broad lawn surrounding the lake is kept lush by enough water to supply a small town. Inside the cavernous building are enough boats on display (though we are in the heart of a great American desert) to launch an amphibious landing against a medium-sized country.

On the edge of Kansas City, Kansas sprawls the very newest Cabela's store and draws people not just to shop but also to gawk. Outside the store, visible from two expressways, stands a 19-foot-tall bronze statue of three trophy mule deer. The actual carcasses of those deer are on display inside the store—along with about 800 other stuffed animals. Not to mention the huge aquarium. Live trout swim in a stream tumbling out of a 35-foot mountain at the back of the store. Ducks swim in the indoor stream. And the museum displays what seems to be every trophy deer ever shot in a variety of superb naturalistic settings.

In the second-floor food court one can choose from buffalo burger to grilled walleye with wild rice. The gun library, where the more expensive firearms are sold, is located in a corner of the store. The weapons are displayed in beautiful walnut cabinets beneath a pressed copper ceiling. Six-foot-long elephant tusks guard the door. You can easily drop $20,000 on a shotgun, or buy a carbine once carried by a pony soldier.

These stores purveying rods, rifles, and other rudiments of the outdoor life are huge economic engines. They draw hundreds of thousands of people from hundreds of miles away, and support gas stations, restaurants, hotels, and other establishments in bubbles around their interstate exits. And they are just the front edge of a "huntin' an' fishin'" industry that is now one of the most thriving corners of American retailing.

In 2001, 34 million Americans over the age of 16 went fishing, and over 13 million hunted. The vast number were males. Though the number of female shooters is increasing rapidly, women still make up only 13 percent of those who hunt.

Although participation in small game hunting is falling, fishing and large game hunting have remained stable. Spending by sportsmen has increased 29 percent over the last decade. Overall expenditures by outdoor enthusiasts (including not only hunt-

TAE *contributing writer Blake Hurst is particularly fond of watching wild turkeys, but rarely shoots them.*

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ing and fishing themselves but also related activities like hiking, photography, and feeding wildlife) totaled over $100 billion in 2001, amounting to around 1 percent of GDP.

Despite these statistics, all is not well in the world of hunters. Like many activities and traits identified with men, and particularly men who live in rural areas, hunting is under attack on a number of fronts. Environmentalists say they don't like the way hunters invade the wilderness. Animal rights activists don't like the way hunters treat animals. Psychiatrist Karl Menninger has opined that hunting is a "socially accepted" form of sadism, with hunters under the sway of an "erotic sadistic motivation." Dr. Joel Saper also worries about the sexual aspect of hunting, stating that hunting "may reflect a profound yet subtle psychosexual inadequacy." Maybe it's because guns are so, well, phallic, but this theme is a constant in the anti-hunting literature. Clinical psychologist Margaret Brooke-Williams has postulated that "Hunters are seeking reassurance of their sexuality. The feeling of power that hunting brings temporarily alleviates this sexual uneasiness." No wonder lots of rifle-toting men have grown decidedly defensive about their hobby.

I'm pretty sure that most of the people I saw shopping in Cabela's on Super Bowl Sunday weren't worrying much about their sexual inadequacies. Judging from the number of strollers in the store, hunters do just fine between the sheets. In fact, instead of pathology, what is most in evidence when you are around hunters can only be described as joy.

Hunters and fishermen participate in their sports because they love the pursuit of game and love opportunities for spending time in the outdoors. They spend billions on their hobby, and endure conditions that would make most of us question their sanity, because it provides deep rewards and satisfactions. Former congressman Dick Armey, an avid fisherman, once stepped off an open boat where he had just spent 13 hours angling in the cold rain, and stated: "Women just don't understand how much fun we're having."

My friend Andy and his dad recently spent a day hunting on my family farm, tromping up and down the fencerows on a day when the weatherman was warning of frostbite from single-digit temperatures and brisk winds. They loved it. In an interview I conducted, former NFL star and current hunting and fishing television show host Larry Csonka described falling from a horse at a dead gallop in the midst of a buffalo hunt: "It was a frigging holiday."

If you don't hunt, you might not understand people who do. But, then, most hunters can't really explain or justify why they do it, either. If you listen to what hunters say, they hunt just because they enjoy hunting. That's a bit circular, but it satisfies most male practitioners. Tim Renken, long-time outdoors writer for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, has thought about this subject more than most people, and he describes his own urge to hunt this way: "It's instinctive. The whole drill—getting ready, going out, calling the dogs, picking up the gun, gathering with the guys—it fulfills an urge, one that some people feel more strongly than others. Our species existed for thousands and thousands of years in a lifestyle that required that men go out in groups and bring back the necessities of life.... It's the same feeling a person gets picking up a baby, holding the hands of a child, and seeking women. Nature arranges that we feel pleasure in doing the things we must do."

That hunting is in our bones may help explain what surveys have long shown. Compared to people who engage in other outdoor activities like hiking, hunters are less likely to "achieve their goals" or be "successful" on their trips. The fact is, hunters often come home empty-handed. Yet polling shows that hunters are the most *satisfied* with their outdoor excursions, regardless of success.

Of course critics of hunting are not persuaded by the argument that "a man's gotta do what a man's gotta do." They will point out that certain instincts are no longer productive. But the case for hunting and fishing can also be made on pragmatic grounds, even from the point of view of the wildlife. One example is white-tailed deer. In 1925, the Missouri Game and Fish Department counted less than 400 deer in the state of Missouri. Today, there are perhaps 800,000. That is in large part a testament to wildlife management helped along by the license fees paid by hunters.

In his book on hunting, David Samuel notes that federal excise taxes on hunting and fishing equipment raise nearly $400 million per annum to support game conservation. Hundreds of millions more are raised by state agencies. Ducks Unlimited has raised almost a billion dollars since 1937, and restored seven million acres of wetlands. Pheasants Forever has planted ten million trees and restored 300,000 acres of warm season grasses. The National Wild Turkey Foundation has helped to triple the number of wild turkeys in the U.S. in the past generation. Hunters were the first conservationists, and remain among the most effective ones.

Successful wildlife preservation and ever-growing suburbs have even turned many creatures into pests. Nationwide, over 500,000 cars and deer collide each year, resulting in an estimated 100 human deaths, and hundreds of millions of dollars in insurance claims. In most of their range, white-tailed deer have no natural predators, except for guys in four-wheel-drive pickup trucks with gun racks in the back windows. Without hunting, deer populations would skyrocket, creating hunger, disease, and, eventually, a population collapse.

Deer hunting season here in northwestern Missouri, as in much of rural America, is a tradition enjoyed by almost everybody. The first day is usually the busiest, but each day as the season progresses, more deer hang from tree branches, as hunters prepare their game for the freezer. By the end of the weeklong season, the town where I live looks like a venison orchard, with gutted deer beneath most branches capable of bearing the weight. We managed to kill one deer for every male between the ages of 14 and 70 in my home county this year.

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Before you hang your deer, you generally drive around with it in the back of your pickup for a while, taking it at the very least by the coffee shop for bragging purposes. One acquaintance of mine who had spent years in the city before arriving here banged into this reality on the first day of hunting season one fall. After pulling into a local convenience store with her young daughter in tow, she left the car to pay for her gas. When she returned, her daughter, now surrounded by pickups with dead deer, was screaming about Bambi.

Hunting keeps men grounded in reality and satisfied with life.

The hunter's commitment to his sport extends far beyond his time in the woods. When hunters can't hunt, and fisherman can't fish, and they don't need anything at Cabela's, they watch lots of television shows about hunting and fishing. There are two cable networks fully devoted to outdoor sports, and numerous other networks with regular shows.

The prototype of all outdoor programs is the fishing show, usually two guys in a boat catching and releasing bass amidst lively banter. Bass fishing has become a major competitive sport, with tournaments, big prize money, and endorsement contracts for the winners. The shows encourage a vast bass fishing sub-industry, including products like the "Vibrastrike," a water-activated vibrating fishing lure. Every manly tackle box should have one.

If surveys show that hunters can enjoy their outings without bringing home any game, the same cannot be said for the people who are featured in hunting shows. They *always* get their deer, turkey, bluefish, or alligator. Yep, you can hunt alligators in Florida—because alligators are cannibals, and it actually helps to increase the population by hunting the bigger gators who gobble up the smaller ones. I've learned from TV hunting shows that if you want a pair of alligator boots made from your kill, the critter needs to be at least nine feet long. That's news you can use.

Nobody does hunting enthusiasm like rock star and outdoorsman Ted Nugent. On his show he recently hunted deer with a 53-pound-test bow and an arrow with a special blade you can buy on his Web site. Nugent said he was hunting because "I want to feed my family the purest of protein." He practices with his bow every day so he won't "be confused by the intensity of it all. It is very exhilarating." Ted got his deer, but only after long tracking through the Texas scrub, hollering at intervals that "the beast is dead, long live the beast."

Another recurring theme in hunting and fishing entertainment is the transfer of lore between generations. Most hunters hunt because their fathers did. A boy's first expedition is almost always under the watchful eye of a male relative, and surveys show that hunters who are introduced to the sport by peers are less likely to continue than hunters who have their first experience with their fathers.

Many of the weekly hunting and fishing shows depict the first hunt of an adolescent male. The pride taken by fathers is palpable, shining right through the commercials for tree stands, shotguns, and deer scent. Hunters who go to the woods with their dads first are also more likely to follow the ethics of hunting. Ethics are a constant theme in hunting literature. Some types of hunting just aren't considered kosher, and the censure received from a father when the rules are broken is more likely to leave an impression than the fear of conservation agents or nagging from buddies.

Hunting correctly, following the rules, respecting the game and property you hunt on—these are important lessons best taught by a male authority figure. If you keep the rules of the woods when no one is watching, you are likely to be upright in other parts of your daily life. Fathers taking their sons on pre-dawn stalks often transmit important lessons about manhood even more than about sportsmanship.

Hunting and fishing are also important because they remind humans of the proper order of the world. They teach that we have responsibilities toward animals, but that we are different. As urbanized humans become more and more disconnected from nature, it is important to guard against confusion and romanticization of the natural world. In a world where a Princeton professor like Peter Singer argues that a healthy animal has more value than a damaged human or a newborn baby, hunting and fishing can help us keep reality before our eyes, and our priorities straight.

In a world where many of the things men are hard-wired to do are now discouraged, hunting is particularly important to keeping men grounded in reality and satisfied with life. Hunting allows men to exercise what Harvey Mansfield calls their "spiritedness." Larry Csonka makes the same point when he describes the importance of wholesome rough-and-tumble to men, whether it comes through football or fishing. Sometimes the sales committee can replace the hunting party, says Tim Renken, as men compete for promotions instead of supper. But there are moments when the aggressive and challenge-seeking natures of men need to be satisfied more directly and simply.

It is of course important for men—and the civilization and women around them—to temper some of these natural impulses. But to expect to eliminate them is foolishly unrealistic, unfair to men, and ultimately bad for society—which, despite all modernization, still needs the unsentimental decisiveness that hunting hones. Philosopher Jose Ortega y Gassett once argued that "the greatest danger to the existence of hunting" is "reason." Hunters can't really explain why they hunt. But the urge is there, and too fundamentally a part of our makeup to be ignored.

We won't all be hunters. But the powerful drive that makes men hunt is something that benefits everyone.

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Boys Under Attack

Christina Hoff Sommers was right

By Karina Rollins

Three years ago, Christina Hoff Sommers presented a radically titled book, *The War Against Boys: How Misguided Feminism is Harming Our Young Men*. Back then, a war against boys seemed an odd charge in a society that had accepted as fact the leftist feminist claim that boys are, by definition, beneficiaries of the reigning "patriarchy," and girls, second-class citizens. After all, esteemed institutions like the Association of American University Women had commissioned studies that showed widespread "gender bias" against girls in school, and television and newspapers were filled with authoritative-sounding reports hammering home gut-wrenching stories of short-changed girls robbed of their self-esteem, left miserable and suicidal.

What was the evidence for these claims? As Sommers discerned from painstaking research, they stood on shaky ground at best; at worst, they were wholesale perversions of fact. Far from the constant claims that school is designed to suit boys' needs at the expense of girls', Sommers showed that when it comes to education, "we have a genuinely worrisome gender gap, with boys well behind girls":

> Girls read more books. They outperform males on tests of artistic and musical ability. More girls than boys study abroad. More join the Peace Corps. Conversely, more boys than girls are suspended from school. More are held back and more drop out. Boys are three times as likely as girls to be enrolled in special education programs and four times as likely to be diagnosed with attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). More boys than girls are involved in crime, alcohol and drugs. Girls attempt suicide more than boys, but it is boys who actually kill themselves more often. In a typical year (1997), there were 4,493 suicides of young people between the ages of five and 24: 701 females, 3,792 males.

But these facts—and an abundance of other evidence disputing the cry of anti-girl discrimination—did little to quell the thirst for girl salvation. While the mainstream media trumpeted that study commissioned by the AAUW proclaiming girlhood misery, studies and reports demonstrating its grave flaws and misinformation, as well as Sommers' *The War Against Boys,* were barely mentioned.

Other sob stories about the sorry lot of girls didn't even have faulty studies to back them up—they were simply asserted, and accepted, unquestioningly, by much of the media and the American public. "The research commonly cited to support the claims of male privilege and sinfulness is riddled with errors," Sommers charged in 2000. "Almost none of it has been published in professional peer-reviewed journals. Some of the data are mysteriously missing. Yet the false picture remains and is dutifully passed along in schools of education, in 'gender-equity' workshops, and increasingly to children themselves."

Karina Rollins is a TAE *senior editor.*

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Thus the feminists were able to continue their crusade undeterred by reality. The problem with their ideology is not the promotion of girls, but that it comes in the form of utter neglect of the burgeoning number of young males who are left behind. As even male feminist William Pollock, a Harvard psychiatry professor and author of *Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons from the Myths of Boyhood*, recognizes today: "It's not just that boys are falling behind girls. It's that boys themselves are falling behind their own functioning and doing worse than they did before."

Boys are not merely girls with penises.

A signal that reality might eventually win out over ideology is the recent spate of reports in the mainstream press corroborating Christina Sommers' research. In May, *Business Week* featured a cover story "The New Gender Gap." The article's author, Michelle Conlin, does not mince words; she writes plainly of "a stunning gender reversal in American education. From kindergarten to graduate school, boys are fast becoming the second sex." As Conlin puts it: "It may still be a man's world. But it is no longer a boy's.... Biologically, [a boy] needs four recesses a day, but he's lucky if he gets one, since some lawsuit-leery schools have banned them altogether. Hug a girl, and he could be labeled a 'toucher' and swiftly suspended—a result of what some say is an increasingly anti-boy culture that pathologizes their behavior."

Conlin lists the gamut of boyhood woes, from the fact that 70 percent of special-ed students are boys, to their absence on honor rolls, to the 30 percent higher dropout rate and a host of social pathologies. That more young women than men go to college and earn degrees is a decades-old phenomenon. And this development holds true across "every state, every income bracket, every racial and ethnic group," as Conlin points out. The famous number recently quoted by magazines and newspapers across the country is that 133 girls receive BAs for every 100 men. If this trend continues, by 2020 that number will be 156.

Three decades ago, education experts hoped that the "Girl Project" would close the much-publicized boy-girl gaps in math and science. The gap has indeed narrowed. But in the 1990s, when boys were quitting school in unheard-of numbers and a gaping canyon separated their reading and writing skills from girls', the public message of male domination did not budge an inch. Politically charged, the notion of suffering girls had grown into an industry. As Steve Hanson, principal of Ottumwa High School in Iowa, explains: "All the focus was on girls, all the grant monies, all the university programs—to get girls interested in science and math. There wasn't a similar thing for reading and writing for boys."

The reality of mismanaged and damaged boys has hit home with several on the Left, such as *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen. "It's clear that something very bad is happening to boys," he wrote recently. Cohen recites the Cliff's Notes litany of young male social problems and academic inferiority to women and laments: "Not only do boys continue to be taught by women who think that they are just unruly girls, but girls are now purposely favored." In recognition of a feminized, sensitive, high-tech culture, he declares: "In a society that no longer needs brawn, or values aggression—that is, in some respects, more feminine—girls are better endowed by nature to succeed."

Cohen seems resigned to accepting this status quo as an immutable fact of modern life, as the new nature. But it is entirely due to the successful feminist agenda that over the past few decades teachers have come to treat boys less and less like boys, and more and more like girls—and expected them to behave accordingly. The feminist ideology has made any male virtues disreputable. Instead of channeling boys' natural aggressiveness into positive arenas, their innate nature is ignored, suppressed, and wished away. What is so dangerous about the feminized worldview of male nature is that when treated with respect and discipline, boys can learn appropriate behavior and mature into normal healthy men. But when treated with disdain and demands to be girls with penises, boys will lose their bearings and most likely act out in destructive ways.

"How our culture binds boys in a 'straightjacket of masculinity' had suddenly become a fashionable topic," in the mid '90s, wrote Sommers. Intellectuals wielding great influence in education circles promoted a movement to "save the males" from the horrors of masculinity, and they poured their energy into "conferences, workshops, and institutes dedicated to transforming boys." Forcing girls to act like boys would horrify most decent people. Yet the reverse, and its perverse consequences, have permeated virtually the entire education establishment in this country.

It's not surprising, then, that tales of restless and boisterous boys disturbing classrooms and recess have been mounting for years. More and more boys are put on Ritalin or other drugs to correct their behavior, with little or no distinction made by experts between real misbehavior and normal boyish rambunctiousness.

The bad news is clear. The good news is that these developments are not irreversible. Just a few years ago Christina Hoff Sommers was called an extremist for the facts she presented in *The War Against Boys*. Today, her observations are entering the conventional wisdom. If more parents and teachers will revolt against the feminist-driven demonization of boys—fighting the idea that specifically male behavior, and any degree of aggressiveness, are intrinsically bad and to be rooted out—sanity can be restored.

"It has become fashionable to attribute pathology to millions of healthy male children," warned Sommers three years ago. "We are turning against boys and forgetting a simple truth: that the energy, competitiveness, and corporal daring of normal, decent males is responsible for much of what is right in the world."

Let's hear it for the boys.

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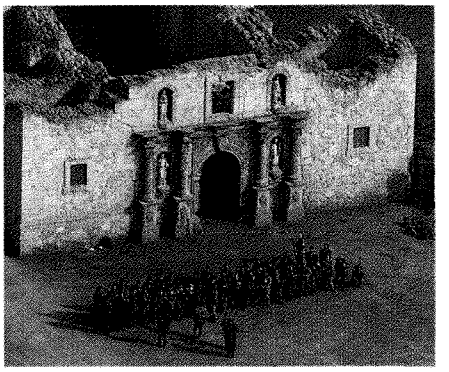
Hollywood Report

Alamo Battles



Actors dressed as the Texans who defended the Alamo line up on the set of the new movie.

Newscom.com/KRT Photo by Ron T. Ennis

Last year, 48-year-old director Ron Howard stood next to Texas governor Rick Perry at the Governor's Mansion in Austin looking at a painting of the Battle of the Alamo. Both men were hopeful the scene would come to life on the big screen: Davy Crockett defending the famed San Antonio mission against a bloody siege by the Mexican army with nothing but bare hands and a rifle butt as weapons.

Howard, who directed *A Beautiful Mind,* had come to Texas to scout locations and secure the governor's support for his project. He envisioned a film shot in grand style, using the battle itself—which left all defenders, including Crockett, dead—as its linchpin.

When the cameras finally began rolling this winter, Howard wasn't behind them. That baton had been passed to John Lee Hancock, 45, whose directorial debut came in 2002 with *The Rookie,* a popular film from Disney starring Dennis Quaid.

It seems the story behind the making of Hollywood's next epic film has become a saga in itself, one that dramatizes in real life how the industry operates, and how a shortfall in a media conglomerate's profits can often short-circuit the plans of even the most influential of filmmakers.

News that Howard was off *The Alamo* as director sent Hollywood buzzing. "Disney Gives 'Rookie' Ace 'Alamo' Reins," read the *Variety* headline. The fact that Hancock, with only one picture to his credit as director, would now be at the helm of a film that executives were estimating would cost $125 million, was indeed a surprise. Some insiders speculated that Disney didn't want the gritty, mature version of the Alamo battle that Howard reportedly had in mind (in fact, Stephen Gaghan, who wrote the drug war drama *Traffic,* had been working on the script), preferring to go instead with a more commercial, PG-13 version.

It seemed more likely that Disney head Michael Eisner didn't want shareholders breathing down his neck. They were already disgruntled with corporate performance, and Eisner knew that if the studio overextended itself à la *Pearl Harbor,* he would have trouble in Burbank.

The making of *The Alamo* became a standoff "squarely about money," said *Variety*'s Michael Fleming. Opting for Hancock over Howard reduced the cost of the picture. That *The Rookie* earned more than four times what it cost to make only helped ingratiate Hancock to Eisner. Hancock also insists that his version will have more integrity than some recent attempts at American history. "I have no desire to spend three months in front of a computer trying to make a cannonball going through the stomach of somebody look real," he told the *Austin American-Statesman.* "It never does."

With or without Ron Howard, odds are that Disney's version of a battle that symbolizes the cause of freedom to many will stand in sharp contrast to the 1960 film about the Alamo made by John Wayne. The Duke filmed his in Texas with 7,000 extras; Hancock uses about 180. The rest are created by computer graphics. John Wayne intended his Alamo as a metaphor in the fight against Soviet communism, a point that made studio executives nervous. But the Duke's gamble paid off: Not only was his Alamo profitable, he also had the last word, opening the picture with an anti-communist ad campaign.

Disney plans a more nuanced version. "I believe audiences are ready to embrace the complexities of the film," said Howard, who's still on board as a producer. "The simplistic approach isn't appropriate and it's not interesting. We know there will be limitations and controversies." Critical moviegoers shouldn't take Howard's language as code for a politically correct *Alamo.* "It still boils down to heroism," Howard says. And he's not talking about Santa Anna's army. The script's stentorian coda is Sam Houston's victory over Santa Anna at San Jacinto.

Adding to the optimism for the picture are John Lee Hancock's Texas roots. He seems to approach his subject with more reverence than director Michael Bay accorded *Pearl Harbor*: "I realize that when you come to Texas to make a movie about the Alamo you're making a movie about everybody's mother, so they're going to be overprotective. I'm the last guy who wants to foul it up. I'm also confident that I'm the right guy to do it."

— John Meroney

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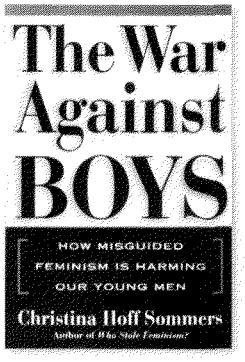
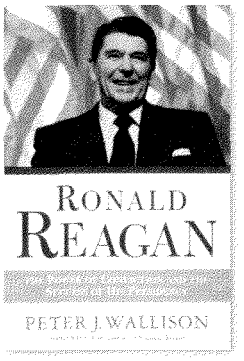


The War Against Boys

By Christina Hoff Sommers

The social and educational struggles of boys are aggravated by a prejudice that punishes them simply for being male.

(hardcover a $25.00 value)



Ronald Reagan

By Peter J. Wallison

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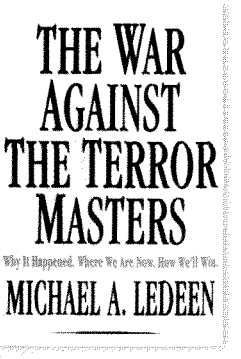

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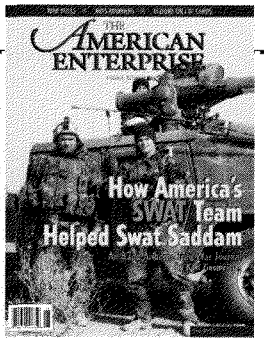

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My Man of Iron

By Isabel Lyman

KAILUA-KONA, HAWAII—"I was wondering how my body was going to do it from the ten-mile mark of the run onward. But during the last quarter mile of the marathon the crowd was loud and supportive. I never had so many people cheer for me." So stated my 45-year-old husband, Wid, in the land of manta rays and *muumuus*, after facing the super-sized challenge of the Ironman competition.

This world championship for triathletes requires participants to swim 2.4 miles in the choppy Pacific Ocean, then bike 112 miles across windy lava fields, and then run 26.2 miles in the heat and humidity. The race must be finished within 17 hours.

Wid was joined in his quest by 1,540 athletes between the ages of 19 and 80 from around the world and 49 states. Ironman officials report that more than 100,000 gallons of fluid replacement and 600 bottles of sunscreen were used up during the grueling race. More than 7,000 enthusiastic volunteers lining the 140.6-mile race course did the dispensing and cheering.

Wid finished in just under 15 hours. As he jubiliantly crossed the finish line in downtown Kona, I hung a *lei* of tropical flowers around his neck, and our 17-year-old son, who was working security for the event, embraced him with a bear hug. My hubby was now an official man of iron.

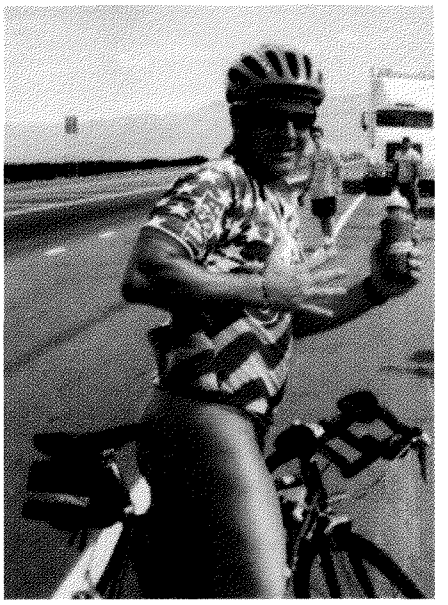
The course proved to be as intimidating as advertised. "Every stage was harder than I thought it was going to be." But somehow he successfully completed this race which provides the very definition of "survival of the fittest."

Over 20,000 triathletes vied to participate in the Hawaii Ironman this year. Most competitors qualified by placing in one of the 23 Ironman races held throughout the world as a run-up. A lucky 150 gained entrance via a lottery that gives amateur athletes an opportunity to participate with the pros. Wid won one of the lottery slots, then had to complete a half-ironman race to validate his entry.

Kent Laird, a 29-year-old Webmaster from Beaverton, Oregon, also won a lottery slot. I asked him, a former college runner and father of two young children, why he voluntarily submitted himself to this madness. Laird's explanation seemed to be the universal one: "I've wanted to do the Ironman since I was 13 or 14, after seeing it on television a long time ago. This is 'the event.' I am drawn to things that test your body and mind, and let you see what you can do on a given day."

Don't try this at home, kids. My athletic husband prepared for Kona for four years. Several months before the Ironman, he increased the duration and intensity of his workouts. He swam eight miles, biked 250 miles, and ran 30 to 35 miles each week. It was even tougher mentally than physically. Wid often got through the long hours of training by praying and listening to taped Christian music. Call it the power of ironprayer.

While he did most of his training in Massachusetts, where we live, Wid spent a month in Oklahoma City to acclimate to the hot and windy conditions that prevail there as in Hawaii. Not until race week, however, did he actually swim in the ocean.



Wid Lyman, looking every bit an Ironman.

"It was hard to stay on course because of the currents, and other swimmers kept getting in my way," he says of the long dip. The choppy seas caused several triathletes to drop out with seasickness. But winds, ocean, and even triathletes who stopped along the bike course to retch didn't stop Wid. And he finished the race with renewed respect for the professional triathletes like 2002 Ironman champion Tim DeBoom of the United States, who completed the race in 08:29:56.

Wid has no plans to return to Kona next year. He came, he raced, he conquered. It's time now to be a little more laid back, to "Live Aloha," as they say in Hawaii. *Mahalo,* thank you, says his wife.

Isabel Lyman suggests www.ironmanlive.com for more information about the Ironman Triathlon World Championship.

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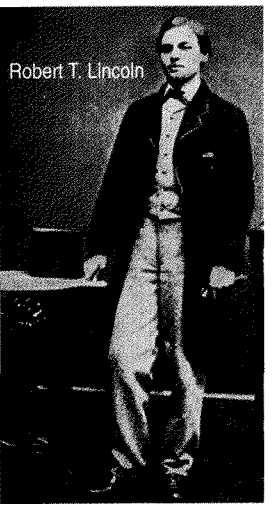
Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero



Unfortunate Son

If exasperated sons of nutty mothers need a patron saint, why not call on poor reviled Robert T. Lincoln, son of Abraham and Mary?

The wild Bush girls, balletic Ron Reagan, awkward Chelsea: Posterity will little note nor long remember their foibles. Yet, as the sympathetic biographer of Robert T. Lincoln complains, "It seems to be an article of faith among those who admire Abraham Lincoln that his eldest son is to be criticized at every possible point."

Not that he didn't deserve it. He was a cold, snobbish lad grown into a money-grubbing corporate lawyer. "Robert T. Lincoln," sneered a contemporary, "was a man of mediocre attainments, puffed up with pride almost to the exploding point by the brilliance of his parentage, who, left to his own devices, never would have risen above the ranks of the commonplace."

The Lincoln home was famous for its lack of discipline. The children were uncontrollable, but Father Abraham "never reproved them or gave them a frown," said his law partner William Herndon. In the Lincoln Legend, Willie and Tad are lovably mischievous imps, while Robert is off at school, absorbing the worst traits of the upper class.

The "Prince of Rails," as Robert was dubbed, was the classic product of a twisted American tale. The father, wanting his son to have "everything that I never had," removed the boy from those healthy and earthy influences that had given the old man his hardihood.

Robert was hopelessly pompous. When the Lincolns entertained the newlywed Tom Thumb and his miniature bride at the White House, Robert stayed upstairs in his room, spitting, "No, mother, I do not propose to assist in entertaining Tom Thumb. My notions of duty, perhaps, are somewhat different from yours."

Those notions of duty did not include dodging bullets in the war his father's government was waging. Robert was a shirker, a Harvard gentleman who sat out the war until February 1865, when he was given a résumé-building captaincy.

After the war, Robert represented Eastern insurance companies and was eventually made president of the Pullman Company, maker of sleeping cars and breaker of strikes. As a "millionaire corporation lawyer and businessman of decidedly conservative views," writes Robert Goff, "Robert T. Lincoln does not fit well into the Lincoln legend."

Yet Pa had profitably represented railroads, and Son was very much the faithful Republican, serving as Secretary of War and Minister to Great Britain. His chief distinction, one newspaper reported, was in possessing the largest head in the Arthur cabinet. He was also honest, no common quality in the Gilded Age GOP.

Every quadrennium brought a modest Lincoln for President boomlet, but Robert scorned the office as a "gilded prison." In his final years he retreated to Hildene, his secluded Vermont estate, which he called, somewhat pathetically, his "ancestral home."

Robert might have lived out his life as a forgotten First Son had he not made the serious PR blunder of committing his mother to a nuthouse.

The deaths of her husband and three of four sons had unhinged Mary Todd Lincoln, not exactly a pillar in the best of times. A money-obsessed hypochondriac, she lived nomadically, consulted spiritualists, kept bonds sewn into her petticoat, and bought expensive clothing and jewelry which she refused to wear.

In March 1875, deluded that her hale son was deathly ill, Mary rushed to Chicago, where she wandered the halls of the Grand Pacific Hotel, partially clad, screaming at Robert, "You are going to murder me!"

Mother, meet Bedlam. Robert assembled a dream team of insanity declarers and had Mary packed off to a leafy sanitarium.

Mary was released within months, to Robert's dismay, for he feared that she would resume her shopping sprees and seances and make "herself talked of by everybody." Mary called Robert a "monster of mankind" whose concern was not for his mother's sanity but her securities. The public sympathized with the grieving widow. Yes, she was an eccentric shrew, but the Fourth Commandment must be obeyed. Mary fled to Europe to escape her only surviving child.

William Herndon, who clashed with Robert on occasion, wrote, "He has the insane rage of his mother without the sense of his father. Robert Lincoln is 'a wretch' of a man."

He wasn't that bad. But for all his riches, he was forever dwarfed by the face on the penny.

—Bill Kauffman

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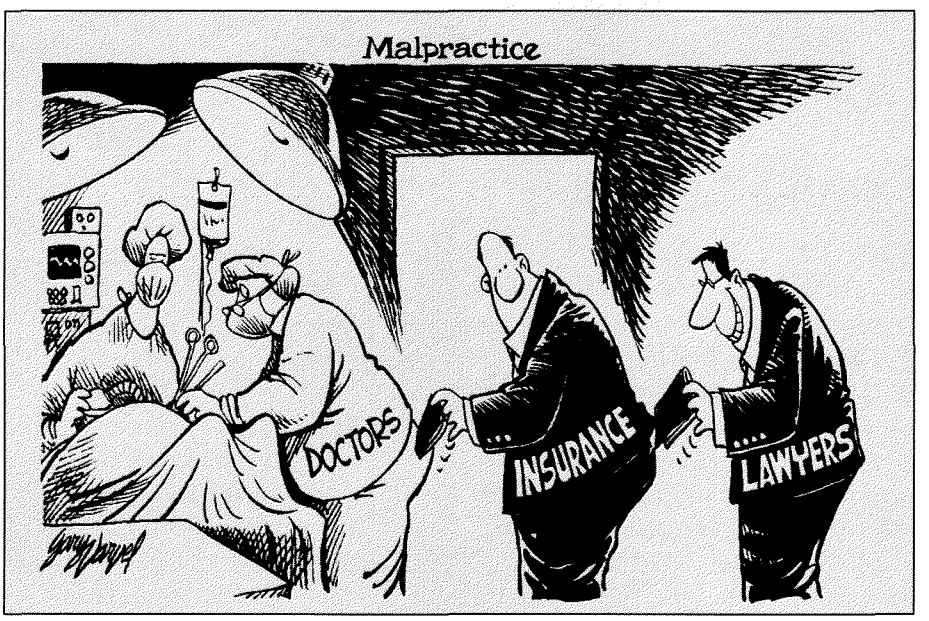
the Malpractice Economist

Liable to Suffer

By Iain Murray



As a Briton, I am used to health service in crisis. Britain now spends only 6 percent of its gross domestic product on health care; America spends 13 percent. British hospital wards are forced to close regularly, doctors work such long hours they are often unable to think straight, and long-term care for chronic illnesses is of a pitiably low standard. All these are clearly marks of a health care system in crisis, and quite obviously the fault of a system of socialized medical care that demands, in the name of fairness, that only the state may pay for medical care. Americans who visit Britain and have to deal with the National Health Service are glad that the same system does not exist here.

Yet a version of it does. The result is that across large areas of the United States, the American health care system is also in crisis. A few examples should suffice to explain the magnitude of the problem. As Fox News reported in May 2002, "On May 6, most of the obstetricians in Las Vegas adopted a policy of rejecting newly pregnant women as patients, even if the woman was an existing patient." The same month, the *Washington Times* presented this warning: "You are driving through Mississippi and you develop a serious pain in your side. What do you do? If you are smart, you keep on driving until you reach the border." MSNBC reported early this year that "More than two dozen orthopedic, general and heart surgeons in West Virginia's Northern Panhandle began 30-day leaves of absence Wednesday or planned to begin leaves in the next few days." Even our sports teams are having trouble finding medical care, reported the *Miami Herald* this spring: "With malpractice rates skyrocketing, many doctors are hesitant to care for professional athletes."

The common theme is the American tort system for medical malpractice. When people feel they have been treated wrongly by a doctor, they sue to redress their grievances. Doctors are therefore concerned about their potential liabilities, which is why the issue is often described in terms of liability rather than tort. Many people are aware of the economic cost of the medical tort system. It has been estimated as costing America $200 billion a year—roughly 2 percent of the nation's gross domestic product. Yet the tort defenders disdain such cold economic analyses. As Leo Boyle, president of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, puts it, the tort system is all about fairness to the patient: "The negligence of bad doctors and the bad business decisions of insurance companies are not the fault of patients who are mistreated. Yet it is injured patients who will be punished if insurers and doctors succeed in limiting justice to help solve their self-inflicted troubles."

This is a powerful argument that knocks down the economic argument in the minds of the American public. If American tort reform is to succeed, it can only do so by convincing voters that it is in the best interests of patients.

Many of the nation's experts on the issue met at a conference on "Liability and Public Health," organized by the AEI-Brookings Joint Center for Regulatory Studies and the nonpartisan legal reform body Common Good on March 4. The most interesting aspect was the focus on the clinical effects of the liability issue rather than the problem of insanely huge jury awards against physicians, which is so often the focus of the economic argument.

When doctors are afraid they will be sued, there are direct practical consequences. Vast increases in insurance premiums caused the Nevada obstetrician crisis; there was the spectacle of Mississippi doctors moving across the river to Louisiana to escape their state's tort system. Sometimes, however, the

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system breaks down because too *much* service is provided. Patients are subjected to unnecessary tests and examinations because doctors fear they will be sued if they miss anything, costing the country $70-120 billion each year.

And there is no room for good bedside manner: Any theory mentioned during conversation can provide the patient with fodder to sue the doctor if something goes wrong. Clinical decisions are rarely cut-and-dried, but a doctor's previous mention of a possible alternative course of treatment is something that a sharp lawyer will swoop down on. A culture of secrecy is therefore developing in the medical establishment that threatens doctor-patient relationships. This is an unintended consequence of the doctrine of informed consent. Brave is the physician who entrusts anything about a patient to e-mail.

These problems even affect the last days of life. Fear of being sued by the "daughter from California" (or New York, for those West of the Mississippi) leads to over-treatment, with the terminally ill being subjected to futile resuscitation attempts or other fruitless treatment, often involving physical restraint. Others will be moved from the nursing home they had liked to acute-care facilities on the principle, "If in doubt, ship 'em out." The reverse also happens, when a physician's fear of being accused of hastening a patient's death leads to insufficient attention to pain control with increased or stronger medication.

The system is plainly not delivering quality care to patients. One solution that seems to work is the imposition of caps on "non-economic" damages from jury awards. It is clearly right that patients who suffer terribly should have their consequent medical expenses (their "economic" costs) paid without limits, although the state of Virginia has imposed a cap on even those. But it is the ever-increasing awards to compensate people for their pain and suffering—the non-economic costs—that have inflated payouts and caused much of the increase in insurance premiums. States such as California that imposed such caps early on have nowhere near the problems that other states like Mississippi do with their health care systems.

Caps are not an ideal solution, however. There will always be disputes about the level, and they might even be thought of as tort-tinkering rather than tort-reform. Other approaches seem to be bearing fruit. The Vaccine Injury Compensation Program was introduced to tackle the particularly thorny problem of the small number of children seriously damaged by routine vaccinations. As a "no fault" system it is not career-threatening to physicians, and it makes payments directly to cover medical costs and caps non-economic damages at $250,000. Moreover, as the system is based on scientific evidence it gives much less leeway for simple emotional appeals.

"No fault" plans might therefore seem to present an excellent model for reform, but there are two main arguments against them. First, they have failed to engage the public, probably because of the name. David Studdert of the Harvard School of Public Health believes it suggests to the public that it is about freeing doctors to play golf rather than holding them accountable. Studdert suggests "Patients' Compensation Schemes."

The second concern is Constitutional, raising the issue of the Seventh Amendment and the right to settle disputes at civil law. This is a difficult area, but according to Common Good president Philip Howard it is a red herring. Courageous but appropriate legislation setting up such a system would be Constitutional, Howard argues, because it would set the boundaries necessary in a reliable system of law. It is certainly true that the current system of jury awards seems as "freakish and wanton" as the pre-1973 death penalty. The recent decision of the Supreme Court in *State Farm v. Campbell*, which reversed a jury award of $145 million punitive damages for a case where actual out-of-pocket expenses were a mere $900, certainly seems to be a step toward reigning in the power of juries in a Constitutional manner.

The consensus at the conference seemed to be that liability reform is possible and can be made attractive to the public. One area not covered, however, is of direct relevance to everyday treatment of patients. It relates to the role of doctors in our culture. We may, perhaps, expect too much of them. A young surgeon recently expressed his frustrations on the excellent Medpundit Web log: "No other business works solely on credit. When I perform a cholecystectomy I cannot demand payment up front (as a plumber or even a lawyer can do), I am at the mercy of the patient's insurance company or Medicare/Medicaid (if they have coverage)... If I am not paid, I cannot very well put the gallbladder back in. This is described as providing a 'service to the community.' However the community [does] not help me in paying my rent, salaries for my staff, or my liability insurance. Society has forced physicians to look at their practices through the lens of a business model, but then criticizes us severely when we do."

It is patients and potential patients—the electorate—who will decide the solution to America's current health care crisis. Those who support reform must remember that they will only get it if they cast the argument in terms of service to patients. There is plenty of evidence that the current system harms the very people it is supposed to protect. If the public alters its expectations of physicians so that they are thought of less as a community resource and more as practitioners of a beneficial profession, the specter of an American version of the continual British health care crisis may recede even further.

Iain Murray writes regularly on medicine, science, and statistics. He is a senior fellow at the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

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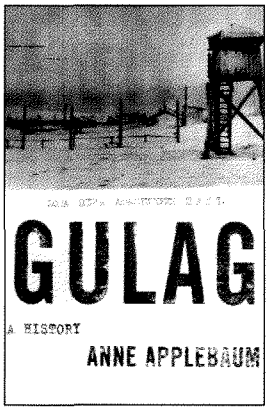
BookTalk

CAPTURING THE APOCALYPSE

By Juliana Pilon

Gulag: A History
By Anne Applebaum
Doubleday, 720 pages, $35



Anne Applebaum's *Gulag: A History* is nothing short of a masterpiece. Relying on official archives, personal stories, accounts by inmates, and reports by those who visited or heard about the inferno known as the Soviet labor camps, she captures the full dimensions of their monstrosity with numbing precision. The simplicity of her style, devoid of any melodrama or hyperbole, allows the stark reality to emerge in its unadorned, terrifying horror.

The USSR exterminated millions of its own citizens slowly and unsystematically, although hundreds of thousands were also mass-murdered, execution-style. "In Auschwitz you could die in a gas chamber, in Kolyma you could freeze to death in the snow." Like the mythical Cronos, the Soviet Union devoured its own children. The millions of victims may not be regurgitated. But they can be remembered, and the crime exposed.

Her massive book covers the origins of the gulag in 1917, life and work in the camps, and their demise from 1940 to 1986. Hardly a mere aberration, the camps were the bloodiest aspect of a revolution that had turned a society's values upside down, as "murder became an accepted part of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat." Imprisoning thousands for the crime of having accumulated some property was in line with official ideology. Soon, "enemies" could be found everywhere: in national groups that Stalin wanted to exterminate, or simply people whose enemies denounced them falsely.

From 1929 to 1953 alone, there were 476 camp complexes; each could contain hundreds of smaller units. Most were closed upon Stalin's death, but in the '70s and '80s, several were redesigned as prisons, to accommodate a new breed of democratic activists—anti-Soviet nationalists—as well as ordinary criminals. How many died? While easy to print numbers on a page, the scale of terror is as impossible to digest psychologically as the age of the universe, and no less apocalyptic. The often-quoted figure (including by Khruschev) of some 17 or 18 million killed from 1937 to 1953 is misleading, as it excludes the many hundreds of thousands sentenced to forced labor without incarceration; prisoners of war; captives in post-war "filtration camps" (where POWs who had already suffered torments in German camps were kept for further "questioning" that often lasted years); the "special exiles," which included kulaks deported during collectivization; Poles, Balts, Caucasians, Tartars; and countless others.

How does one describe the pain of the living dead? How does one capture the systematic torture of women and children, their desperate attempts to survive, resorting even to cannibalism (often of family members) and gruesome self-mutilation? In that quintessential sense, *Gulag* is supremely successful pornography: It conveys the perverse obscenity of absolute evil stunningly well.

Most tragically, the story of *Gulag* has had no genuine resolution. Most Russians prefer not to think about it, embarrassed by what they perceive as one more stain on their reputation, taking them another notch down from their former pedestal as a "superpower." Moreover, the generation of political leaders who talked about the gulag and Stalinist repression, the so-called democratic reformers, managed to taint the sacred memory of the gulag, through corruption and chaos.

Many of those responsible for the crimes of the past are still around, of course. Most notably, President Putin made a point of visiting the KGB's headquarters on the anniversary of its founding, where he dedicated a plaque to the memory of henchman Yuri Andropov. No flowers were placed on the nonexistent graves of those whose lives were extinguished building the White Sea Canal, Stalin's mad road to nowhere.

But, concludes Applebaum with calm, analytic, understated eloquence no less effective than Solzhenitsyn's symphonic passion, the responsibility to honor the gulag's victims lies outside Russia as well. Unless the rest of the world learns a lesson

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from this tragedy, we not only fail to understand today's Russia but our own history.

Why did we fight the Cold War? How do people transform into non-humans for the purpose of terrorism and annihilation? These are the larger questions she asks, and with penetrating lucidity offers unforgettable insights that haunt the reader long after the book is done. With the simplicity appropriate for a subject that prohibits adornment, the crimes of the gulag explode in this book with the force of an earthquake. Its impact should be equally tectonic.

Aleksandr Tvardovski, publisher of Solzehnitsyn's revolutionary novels, wrote: "They're wrong to think that memory / Hasn't an increasing value / Or that the weeds of time grow over / Any real past even or pain ... / No. Duty commands that everything now / That hasn't been said be said in full..."

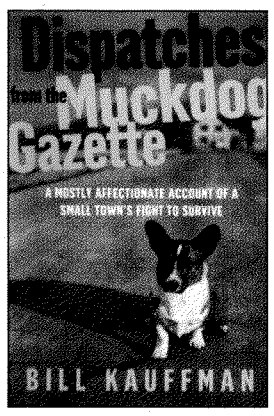
The story of the gulag can never be told in full. But Anne Applebaum has come closer than anyone else.

Juliana Pilon teaches international relations at the Institute of World Politics.

I'LL TAKE MY STAND...YANKEE STYLE

By Robert Cheeks

Dispatches from the Muckdog Gazette
By Bill Kauffman
Henry Holt, 224 pages, $22



TAE associate editor Bill Kauffman writes with a certain petulance and a decided panache. There is a puckish edge to his sentences. He is a contrarian writer who wraps his angst in a wonderfully successful Menckenesque humor. And his anger is directed against those progressivists and centralists who appear with startling regularity in small-town America, determined to educate and enlighten the provincials and lead them to the New Tomorrow via "urban renewal."

Kauffman has coined the term "placeist," and his place is Batavia, New York, as well as the surrounding "burned over country." His book, *Dispatches from the Muckdog Gazette* is autobiographical, historical, and laugh-out-loud funny. Kauffman targets bureaucrats, the "progressivists" at the chamber of commerce who never seem to get the point, the languid newspaper editors and dull-witted reporters who parrot the statist line, and the benighted citizenry that steadfastly refuses to involve itself for fear it might miss an episode of "Friends." He has great praise for people who rise up and challenge the managerial elite at the risk of being labelled "curmudgeons...and mossbacks."

Kauffman weaves a picture of what Batavia once was; its buildings and those who built them, its stores and those who ran them, the neighborhoods—both north and south of the train tracks—and those who lived there. It is a town built on the diversity of cultures defined by Irish, Italian, Polish, and German immigrants; and before that, on a culture established deep in the dark, friable soil by hardbacked English-American settlers who lived in a time when a Seneca warrior might still lift your scalplock.

Batavia and its environs have spawned a plethora of significant writers, such as John Gardner, and Kauffman provides both humorous and sad anecdotes about them. He regales us with stories of the elderly, eccentric doyennes of the various clubs and organizations who remembered old Batavia and who fought the good fight against the progressivists. Kauffman's historical perspective of old Batavia includes a discourse regarding a small cadre of anti-statist "Copperheads" both past and present, including the "Mugwump reformist" author himself.

Kauffman's stories bring to mind Harry Caudill, a small-town Kentucky lawyer who courageously fought the "welfare state's international corporations" and their depredations of the land and human spirit. Like Harry Caudill, Bill Kauffman is a master of the English language and an inveterate storyteller; he has the talent to make you pay attention, and he can change your mind. I now have quite a different opinion of Gore Vidal, Kauffman's favorite novelist (forgive me William F. Buckley!).

Kauffman delights his readers with an extensive history of his beloved Batavia Muckdogs, that Class A baseball team that habitually languishes in the proverbial cellar. But that doesn't faze Kauffman; the man is devoted. He writes of the Muckdogs as St. Francis might write of his bond with birds. The "mafioso" Youngstown (Ohio) Scrappers may regularly knock the cover off the ball at beautiful Dwyer Stadium, but Kauffman and the boys ensconced in the third base bleacher seats will always cheer on the Muckdogs. And that, the reader must understand, is how it should be.

Kauffman describes himself as a "congenital optimist," though he does point out that the enemy is, in Pogoesque terms, us. That is a truism one learns when engaged in any parochial conflict involving the greed of corporatists or the sophistry of government. Far too many "locals" are more than willing to be bootlicks for the big boys. To his credit, Bill Kauffman has charged the barricades and continues on, a bit scarred, but girded in the knowledge that his "place" is Batavia, and that makes him a worthy foe.

The august agrarian philosopher and Christian gentleman Wendell Berry described Harry Caudill in his essay "Harry Caudill in the Cumberlands." The portrayal applies to Bill Kauffman as well: "He did not come there, then, to serve justice. He has been there because he belonged there; the land and the people for whom he has spoken are his own."

Robert Cheeks writes frequently on American life from his home in Ohio.

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Off The Shelf

Classic, overlooked, newly relevant, or otherwise deserving older books

CHURCH AND STATE

By Naomi Schaefer

The Naked Public Square
By Richard John Neuhaus

Last fall, Ashley Woodiwiss, a political science professor at Wheaton College cut short his "Gandhi, King, and Havel" seminar to let me ask his upper level students about their beliefs on religion and politics. The students held a wide range of political views, but they all seemed to agree with one who told me, "Christianity should never be reduced to politics. The Christian Coalition perverts the cause of the church and the cause of Christ." It was a surprising sentiment to find at the nation's flagship evangelical college that counts Billy Graham among its graduates.

It was not always like this. In 1984, at the height of the popularity of groups like the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition, Father Richard Neuhaus attempted to describe the origins of these movements, determine their usefulness for the polity, and predict their chances for future success. His book, *The Naked Public Square*, turns out to be a surprising read for those whose political consciousness was not yet formed at the time, and provides a valuable history lesson for those whose memories have blurred.

Neuhaus argues that the Moral Majority and groups like it emerged as a reaction to a public sphere increasingly devoid of religious voices, a situation that has resulted in the "secular reduction of moral discourse to a contest over interests."

Though he understands the difficulty of using specific religious beliefs as the basis for law, Neuhaus makes a convincing case that a democracy based on "inalienable rights" cannot be sustained in the long-run without the foundation for a belief in those rights. He worries that "law [will be] made to stand on its own, as it were; in isolation from, even in hostility to the morality that alone can make law legitimate."

As much as Neuhaus approves of the Moral Majority's drive to clothe the public square with moral discourse, he does not agree with its leaders' conception of the proper relationship between religion and politics. These groups are "very conservative religiously and politically," Neuhaus explains, and "believe that America must be 'turned around'" so it can serve as a "'launching pad' for the evangelization of the world." It is this mentality, Neuhaus believes, that "leads to increased activism in battles as varied as that against pornography and for a larger defense budget."

Neuhaus determines at least two problems with this marriage of Christianity and politics: The church becomes a servant to its political affiliations, a temptation to which liberal churches are equally susceptible; and the tendency toward theocracy, "in which…religion claims to embody and authoritatively articulate absolute truth," a problem Neuhaus calls "idolatry." He hopes that the moral majoritarians do not succeed in their bid "to become the new culture-forming elite in American religion" and does not expect they will.

On the surface, perhaps, it seems as though little has changed since 1984: *Roe v. Wade* is still the law of the land, there's a Republican in the White House, and the ACLU continues to sue over the slightest public mention of religion. But 20 years have wrought some interesting changes.

The Supreme Court has approved public funding for religious schools. Organizations like the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education are winning battles for religious students on college campuses. *Newsweek* features cover stories on "Bush and God." Recent books like Colleen Carroll's *Faithful* chronicle how young Christians are bringing their faith into professions as varied as entertainment and medicine. And John Schmalzbauer's *People of Faith* describes the re-emergence of religion in journalism and social science. In fact, the public square seems much less naked lately.

Jerry Falwell and his ilk may still be making offensive comments, but they are increasingly marginalized. They served the purpose, as Neuhaus argues, of "alerting the society to the absurdities and dangers of the naked public square." But a new generation of religious men and women is taking their place. Led by graduates of the nation's religious colleges, these young adults approach politics much differently than their predecessors.

When I ask Mike Leroy, another Wheaton political science professor, what students think about the moral majoritarians of the 1980s, he tells me that for some time, students "have not found the Christian Coalition model very compelling." Rather, they hold "multiple and highly contingent models of the Christian politician." The model Leroy favors is "the one St. Augustine gives in *The City of God* where Christians are pilgrims in the city of man. We're here. We're engaged in the world. There is work to be done and government can be used as a tool for the good of all, not just Christians." "Though there are some biblical guidelines of what that means," Leroy emphasizes that "they don't fit nicely into our political system." Caring for the poor might fit a Christian view of the role of government, but Leroy concludes, "It would never be the job of government to make more Christians. That's the job of the church and the job of believers. If we get into a kind of government mandated faith, we have no faith." Father Neuhaus couldn't have said it better himself.

Naomi Schaefer is writing a book on religious colleges.

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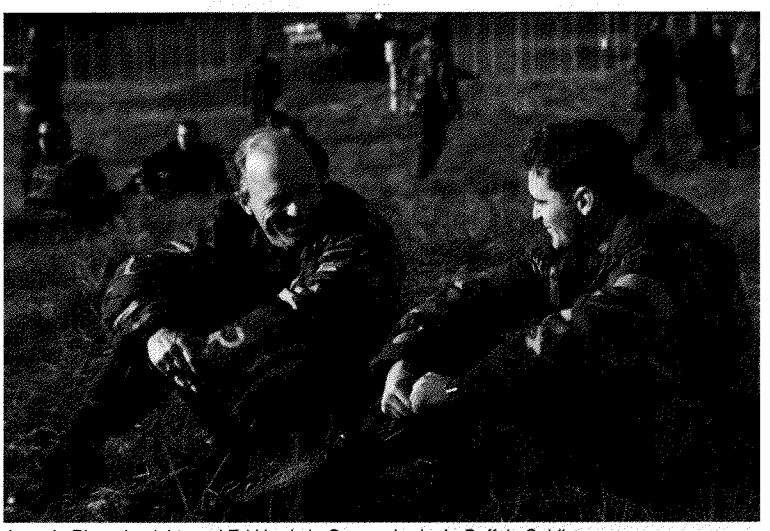
Buffalo Scam



Joaquin Phoenix, right, and Ed Harris in Gregor Jordan's *Buffalo Soldiers*.

It would be easy to go after *Buffalo Soldiers* for being unpatriotic. But that would be giving the filmmakers too much credit. Skittish and unsure of itself, *Buffalo Soldiers* may tell the story of a drug-dealing military clerk at a poorly disciplined U.S. Army post, but it doesn't even have the courage to follow through on its unpatriotic premise. Instead, this is cowardly filmmaking—a movie with the moral fiber of a deserter.

In truth, the film isn't as rebellious as its marketing strategy suggests. After repeatedly delaying the movie's release for fear of a backlash during wartime, the suits at Miramax Films have decidedly gone in the other direction. Now *Buffalo Soldiers* is out, and proud: The poster features smirking star Joaquin Phoenix giving the peace sign while wearing fatigues, a nonsensical clash of symbols that's about as pertinent as the picture's title. A rant about this movie's lack of respect for the military would only bolster its feigned counterculture posture.

Set on a United States Army post in 1989 West Germany, and based on news reports of AWOL behavior at that place and time, the movie is irreverent, to be sure. While *Patton* used Old Glory as a grand backdrop, *Buffalo Soldiers* features a shot of the flag painted on the ground, where marching troops stomp all over it. Meanwhile, Phoenix's Ray Elwood, the drug dealer and our narrator, describes the modern military as composed of "criminals and high-school dropouts" who are "fighting the dull fight."

In the movie, the dullness of peace leads to drug use and crime. The more harmless of Elwood's Army buddies are zoned-out druggies—though they do drive their tanks through a German market when they're high—while the more conniving ones, like Elwood, sell arms to the black market. All of this takes place under the clueless nose of Col. Wallace Berman (Ed Harris), a buffoon who runs his base as if it were an import-export business.

For all its exaggerations and inaccuracies—the movie condemns the entire U.S. military for the real-life sins of a few—*Buffalo Soldiers* could at least be written off as a misguided, satirical potshot if it stuck to its own worldview. After all, if we didn't have unpatriotic movies, we wouldn't be living in a democracy worth being patriotic about.

Yet Australian director Gregor Jordan, who's working from Robert O'Connor's 1993 novel, doesn't have the conviction of a true satirist. His worldview waffles throughout the film. One minute he gleefully documents Elwood's crimes and the next he condemns them. Things get even more confusing when a military police sergeant (Scott Glenn) shows up bent on catching Elwood. This sergeant is presented as an old-school, hard-line military man—until he admits he ran similar scams as a young soldier in Vietnam. By this time *Buffalo Soldiers* has created a moral universe that's nothing short of ridiculous.

Fittingly, you can see the hypocritical, moralistic ending—in which our anti-hero gets his due—coming from the moment of the first frame. It arrives as expected, but then Jordan adds a silly coda that lets Elwood off the hook. It's less a case of playing to two crowds than being afraid to take a stand.

It's nothing new for a Hollywood movie to want to have it both ways, of course. *Buffalo Soldiers*, though, is striving not to be seen as a Hollywood movie, but as a rude gesture in the face of the establishment. It likes to think of itself as the class clown, the smart-aleck private destined for a dishonorable discharge. In the end, the only thing the three share is a lack of discipline.

If *Buffalo Soldiers* is commercially embraced, it will be only because the marketing campaign has succeeded in selling a lazy, cheap-shot action flick as social satire. That's a scam of which the likes of Ray Elwood would be proud.

—Josh Larsen

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Edited by Eli Lehrer

the Digest

Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

POLITICS

Keep Congress Going

Lloyd Cutler, et al., *Preserving Our Institutions: The First Report of the Continuity of Government Commission,* June 4, 2003, the American Enterprise Institute and the Brookings Institution (continuityofgovernment.org)

On September 11, 2001, two hijacked planes slammed into the World Trade Center towers, another one rammed into the Pentagon. A fourth airplane, however, crashed in a Pennsylvania field thanks to the heroism of passengers on board. People with ties to terrorist groups have stated on al-Jazeera and CNN that the plane's target had been the United States Capitol.

Had the plane hit the Capitol, a significant number of members of Congress would have been killed. This, in turn, could have resulted in a real Constitutional crisis: While governors can fill Senate vacancies as they arise, only special elections can fill open seats in the House of Representatives. In normal circumstances, this does not pose a problem but if a large number of House members were to die, the nation would be left with a rump body with little legitimacy. New elections could take months to hold; in the meantime, Congress might have trouble acting decisively. AEI and the Brookings Institution have formed the Continuity of Government Commission to address this problem. In the first stage of its work, the Commission held a series of public hearings to determine what Congress should do to make sure that the House continues to operate.

The Commission recommends a Constitutional amendment to give Congress the power to fill vacancies "in the event that a substantial number of members are killed or incapacitated."

It also proposes a number of more complex alternatives such as requiring state governors to appoint replacement members of Congress from lists provided by each person running for office.

The Commission argues that the amendment would both allow Congress to function after a catastrophic attack and, just as important, "send a message that we have addressed issues in the continuity of government and that an attack on Congress would not produce chaos and inaction."

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

Let the Market Fix Medicare

Newt Gingrich, *The Future of Human Longevity: How Markets and Innovation Can Transform Medicare,* June 3, 2003, Senate Special Committee on Aging (thomas.loc.gov)

In testimony before a special Senate committee on aging, AEI senior fellow Newt Gingrich opines that the United States currently stands "at the dawn of an explosion of knowledge that will change everything we know about science and, therefore, the human body." He outlines new technologies that promise to improve medicine through better understanding of mans' genetic makeup, technologies which can grow new types of cells, and efforts to customize other treatments to fit individuals' precise genetic codes.

Gingrich argues that making these new treatments available to baby boomers will require an overhaul of the "bureaucratic, red-tape-ridden, regulatory, third-party-payer system," that constitutes Medicare (the primary health insurance program for elderly and disabled people). Medicare, Gingrich believes, is based on 1960s policy decisions and technologies and cannot hope to cope with today's medical realities.

Gingrich describes himself as an optimist and states that a combination of improved patient safety, better technology, new management techniques, and personal responsibility can transform Medicare for the better. He argues that the current system fails to protect patients by allowing an unacceptable number of medication errors, and failing to give customers enough information. Electronic systems for writing and filing prescriptions

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coupled with improved information about the prices of drugs and procedures, Gingrich believes, would empower patients to make better decisions while simultaneously reducing errors. Such reforms would be "the key to creating a better, healthier, more financially stable system."

OTHER COUNTRIES

Castro the Crook

Mark Falcoff, "Castro's Gambit," in *Commentary,* June 2003 (commentary.org)

In April 2003, Fidel Castro's Cuban regime arrested over 70 human rights activists, put them on "trial" (with no effective defense allowed), and sentenced them to terms as long as 20 years. In an overview of the situation in Cuba, AEI resident scholar Mark Falcoff sees a regime that, although communist in name and vision, has a great deal in common with the right-wing Latin American klepto-cracies that the United States sometimes supported during the Cold War.

While Cuban society was once radically egalitarian (everyone lived in poverty with the exception of a few Communist Party bosses and gangsters) the modest opening of the economy created when Castro legalized possession of dollars has created huge wealth disparities. Those with relatives in the United States—mostly white Cubans—can enjoy some middle class luxuries while the island's black population lives in utter poverty.

For most of the population, and Afro-Cubans in particular, the situation is dire: The economy is in shambles thanks to an end to Soviet aid. A foreign-investor dominated tourist trade has replaced some jobs in the declining sugar industry, but Communist Party bosses keep the money. "What we are witnessing in Cuba is an incipient alliance between thuggish colonels and unscrupulous foreign investors," writes Falcoff. The tourist trade, however, will not prove a panacea: Cuba doesn't have the resources, tourist facilities, or level of investment needed to replace the jobs lost in the sugar industry. The regime blames the American embargo for the nation's sorry state of affairs, although a great many problems (including a lack of basic medical supplies) are of Castro's own making.

But the regime remains devoted to socialism and committed to opposing the United States. Falcoff sees little hope for a better future without serious changes in the way Cuba operates: "Cuba has been forced to mortgage its future to the proposition that an end to the U.S. trade embargo will suddenly render work- able an economic system —Communism—that has failed everywhere else on the globe."

A Mid-East Solution?

Martin Indyk, "A Trusteeship for Palestine," in *Foreign Affairs,* May/June 2003 (foreignaffairs.org)

Despite a long series of promises to stop, Palestinian terrorists have continued to attack Israel in the wake of every peace agreement. This has blocked the establishment of a Palestinian state even though almost everybody (including Israel itself) has accepted the need for one. Martin Indyk, a Brookings Institution scholar, says that peace efforts fail because the Palestinians have "no credible institutions" to control terror.

As a way out of the current quagmire, Indyk proposes a trusteeship for the areas where Palestinians live. Under such an agreement—used with some success in Kosovo and East Timor—a council of nations led by the United States would control Gaza and the West Bank. These nations would work to build democratic institutions, infrastructure, and civil society. In addition to the intrinsic benefits of a less-corrupt regime, the new trusteeship arrangement would include a specific timetable for Palestinian independence provided that both Israelis and Palestinians kept their parts of the agreement. The U.N. would authorize the agreement but the United States and its allies would call the shots.

Within the trust territory, Indyk envisions an American-led force of troops from English-speaking countries fighting terrorists alongside a reconstituted Palestinian security force. While such a system would not be cheap, it would cost far less than rebuilding Iraq. Indyk, however, does not believe that the current administration is up to it. "Given the Bush administration's reluctance to become engaged in a sustained effort to put the Israelis and Palestinians back on the path to a negotiated solution, it is hard to imagine that it would look kindly on this even more ambitious undertaking," he writes.

BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS

Control the Funds

Tracie Woidtke, et al., "Reining in Activist Funds," in *Harvard Business Review,* March 2003 (harvardbusinessonline.org)

Public employee pension funds now rank as some of the nation's largest stockholders. Many of these funds, such as California's $136 billion CalPERS are willing to flex their mighty financial muscles to advocate for issues such as affordable housing and human rights in developing nations. To Texas A&M scholar Tracie Woidtke and her two co-authors, this behavior "often represents a clear conflict of interest" for managers who are responsible for improving funds' returns and, at the same time, want to realize political goals.

Citing her own previous work, Woidtke finds that companies with large numbers of shares held by activist pension funds tend to have lower market values than comparable companies with different stockholders. Pension funds tend to make trouble for companies by making proxy proposals related to their political agendas that often have a negative impact on the companies' profitability. Woidtke and her co-authors suggest

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that states work to depoliticize pension funds by turning their administration over to professional governing boards.

They also propose increased regulation of shareholder proxy proposals that public employee pensions funds often submit to advance their social agendas. The three believe it should be harder to re-submit proposals that do not draw significant shareholder support, and that groups making proposals should have to pay some of the costs to re-submit them after they have failed twice.

A Bad Solution

Richard Epstein, "How Not to Prevent Another Enron," in *Hoover Digest*, Spring 2003 (hooverdigest.org)

The high-profile troubles of Enron, Tyco, and MCI (Worldcom) have led many Americans to believe that corporate governance has simply gone awry. This fostered a perception that government must overhaul it. Hoover Institution senior fellow Richard Epstein believes that Congress' response—the Sarbanes-Oxley Act—will have far-reaching and ultimately negative effects on the stock market and business management.

The act will lead to sweeping changes in the way corporations operate. Most notably, it requires auditing committees to operate largely independently of corporate boards of directors and to appoint more independent directors. But while independent directors prevent conflicts of interest, they often lack interest in securing the well-being of the company. Epstein predicts that the quality of personnel on corporate boards will decrease as a result of independent directors' ignorance, incomprehension, or indifference to a business's success.

Epstein concludes that contract law is the only legal tool with the power to regulate the complexities of corporate life. Unwieldy federal regulations for corporations like the Sarbanes-Oxley Act simply add another layer of complexity to federal regulations with great cost to corporations and investors alike. "The final irony is that Sarbanes-Oxley may interfere with the operation of capital markets, to the detriment of the very investors it is trying to protect," he warns.

—Rachel Jurado

SOCIETY

A Third Way on Drug Law

David Boyum and Mark A. R. Kleiman, "Breaking the Drug-Crime Link" in *The Public Interest*, Summer 2003 (thepublicinterest.com)

In public policy debates, the case for drug legalization is usually pitted squarely against arguments for increased enforcement of drug laws. Legalization proponents contend that laws against drug use encourage crime while legalization opponents tend to argue that drugs themselves cause crime.

David Boyum, a public policy consultant, and Mark Kleiman, a UCLA professor of public policy, eschew the dichotomy, arguing that *both* enforcement of drug laws *and* actual drug use are key factors in the drug-crime connection. So, refusing to choose between drug legalization—which is sure to increase drug use—and increased enforcement of drug laws, Boyum and Kleiman explore alternative policies that will decrease drug-related predatory crime.

Mulling over the options of targeted enforcement of drug laws and revamped prevention programs, Boyum and Kleiman soon settle on their favorite policy: Widespread efforts to "mandate desistance from the use of illicit drugs for persons on probation, parole, or pre-trial release."

Periodic testing of a substantial portion of the fingerprint database, conducted under threat of certain sanctions, would deter would-be users and quickly spot "those unable to control themselves." Identifying the latter group would allow for a more directed treatment program, in which patients would have strong incentives to cooperate if they wanted to avoid more prison time.

The record of treatment in reducing drug-related crime is already impressive; the careful selection of potential patients, and the stronger-than-usual incentives, would further improve matters.

—Jed Lewinsohn

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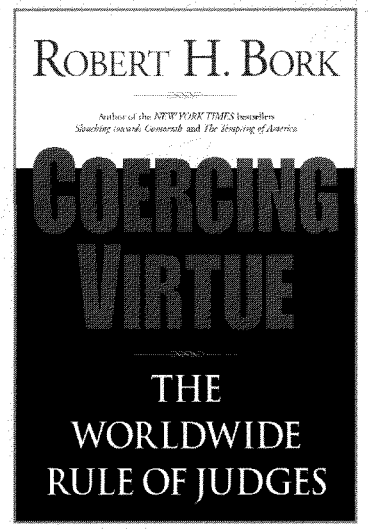

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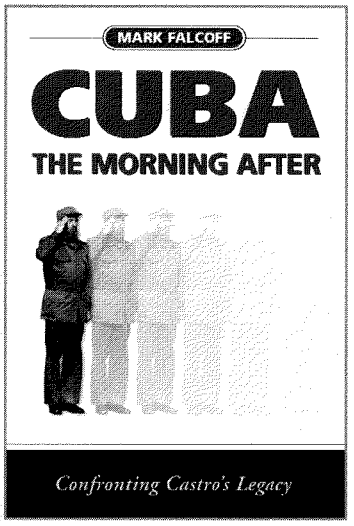

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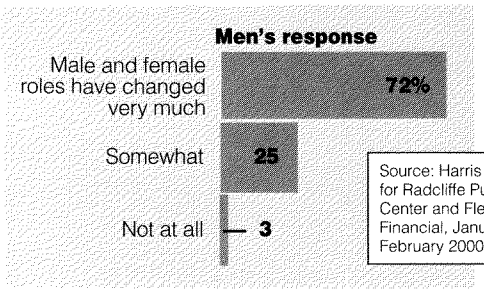
Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

Men Today

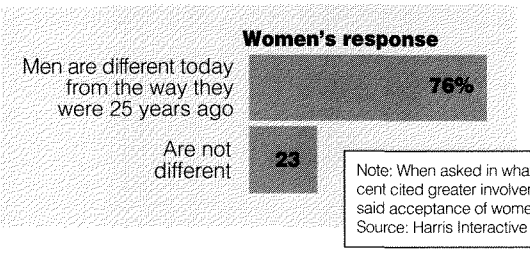
The polling archive at the American Enterprise Institute contains dozens of studies on women's attitudes—their concerns, their politics, their goals—but hardly any that focus solely on men's attitudes. Both men and women see changes from the past, and both applaud more opportunities for women at work and more involvement by men in the home. Seventeen percent of women and 30 percent of men agree that today's dads are too soft.

Question: Compared to your parents' generation, do you think...?



Source: Harris Interactive for Radcliffe Public Policy Center and Fleet Boston Financial, January–February 2000.

Question: In general, do you feel...?



Note: When asked in what ways men were different, 24 percent cited greater involvement with family and 17 percent said acceptance of women as partners or equals.
Source: Harris Interactive for *Lear's*, August–October 1988.

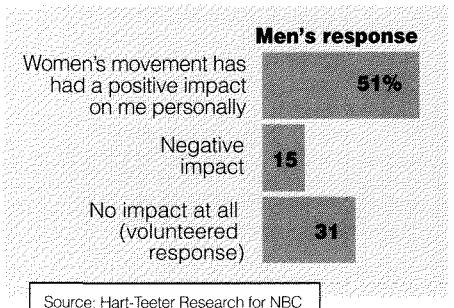
Question: All things considered, do you think there are...?

More advantages to being a man in our society today

Men's response	Women's response
60%	60%

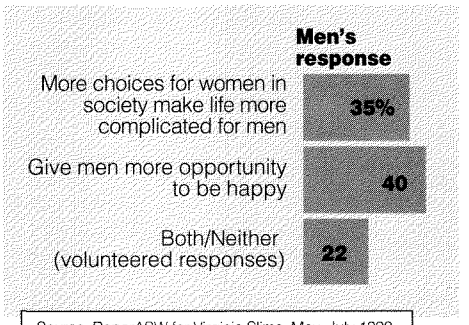
Note: Nineteen percent of men and 21 percent of women said there were more advantages to being a woman in our society today.
Source: *Washington Post*, Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University, August–September 1997.

Question: Now I'd like to ask you about the women's movement...?



Source: Hart-Teeter Research for NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, June 2000.

Question: Which of the following statements better reflects how you feel...?



Source: RoperASW for Virginia Slims, May–July 1999.

Question: Generally speaking, how *well do you think*...?

Most women understand the problems men face very/fairly well

Men's response	Women's response
56%	71%

Note: When asked how well most men understand the problems women face, 33 percent of men said very or fairly well. Thirty-five percent of women gave that response.
Source: *Washington Post*, Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University, August–September 1997.

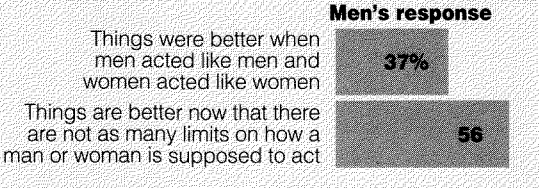
Question: Do you...?

Agree that today's dads are too soft, they should be more manly

Men's response	Women's response
30%	17%

Source: TNS Intersearch for *American Demographics*, March 2002.

Question: Now I'm going to read some pairs of statements on different subjects, and in each case please tell me which statement you agree with more...?



Note: Forty-one percent of women said that things were better when men acted like men, and 51 percent said things are better now.
Source: Peter D. Hart Research Associates for Shell, January 2000.

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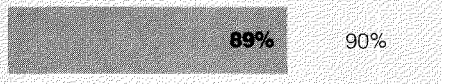
Guy Talk

Men are happy with their lives, their marriages, and their families. Job satisfaction is high, too. Sixty-six percent of men compared to 94 percent of women expect their partner to work for pay. Women say men spend more time working for pay and commuting than they do. Men are doing more at home than in the past, although their contributions lag behind women's. Ninety percent of men are satisfied with their physical appearance. Only small numbers of men say they have "fallen short" in terms of their expectations about life. A third say they have fallen short in terms of the amount of money they earn.

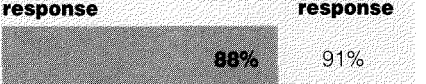
Question: Taken all together, how would you say things are these days...?

I am very/pretty happy today



Question: All things considered, how satisfied are you...?

I am completely/very/fairly well satisfied with my family life



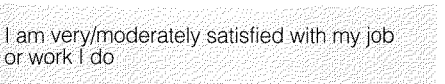
Question: Taking things all together, how would you describe your marriage...?

My marriage is very happy

Note: Thirty-three percent of married men and 35 percent of married women said their marriages were pretty happy.
Source: National Opinion Research Center, February–May 2000.

Question: On the whole, how satisfied...?

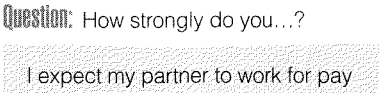
I am very/moderately satisfied with my job or work I do



Source: National Opinion Research Center, February–May 2000.

Question: How strongly do you...?

I expect my partner to work for pay



Source: Harris Interactive for Radcliffe Public Policy Center and Fleet Boston Financial, January–February 2000.

Question: Does your husband/partner...?

Source: *Washington Post*, Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University, August–September 1997.

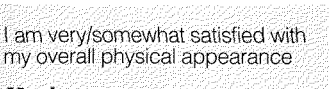
Question: Do you...? Does your husband...?

I help with the housework

Note: In daily journal studies, married women in 1965 averaged 33.9 hours of housework a week. In 1995, that had dropped to 19.4 hours. Men did 4.7 hours of housework per week in 1965 and 10.4 in 1995.
Source: The Gallup Organization, February 1997.

Question: How...?

I am very/somewhat satisfied with my overall physical appearance



Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for *Newsweek*, June 2–4, 2003.

Question: At this point in your life, do you feel you have...?

Men's response about expectations

Met them in terms of		Exceeded them	Fallen short
Your enjoyment of life	59%	27%	12%
Your family life	55	26	14
The impact you would have	51	18	17
Success in your career	50	18	28
The amount of money you earn	48	15	34

Note: A June 2003 Princeton Survey Research Associates poll for *Newsweek* found that 57 percent of men were very or somewhat concerned about losing financial security, 31 percent about losing their job or being demoted, 26 percent about losing physical attractiveness, 19 percent about a divorce or breakup, and 15 percent an unfaithful wife or partner.
Source: Peter D. Hart Research Associates for *Men's Life*, April 1990.

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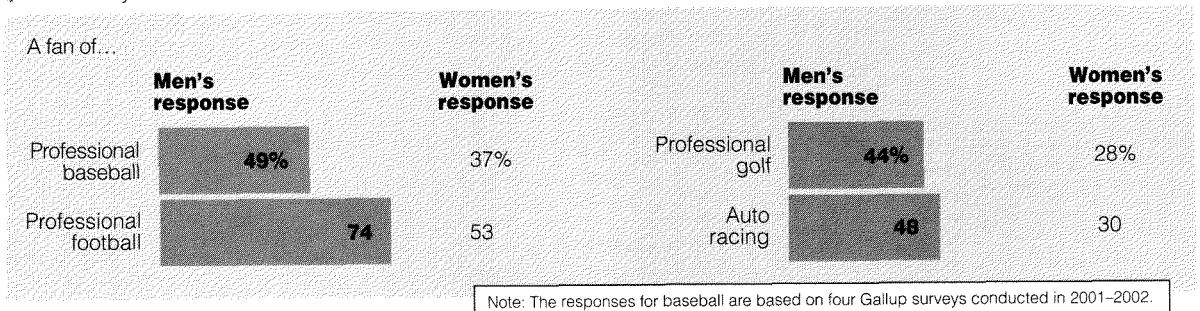
Stereotypes About Guys

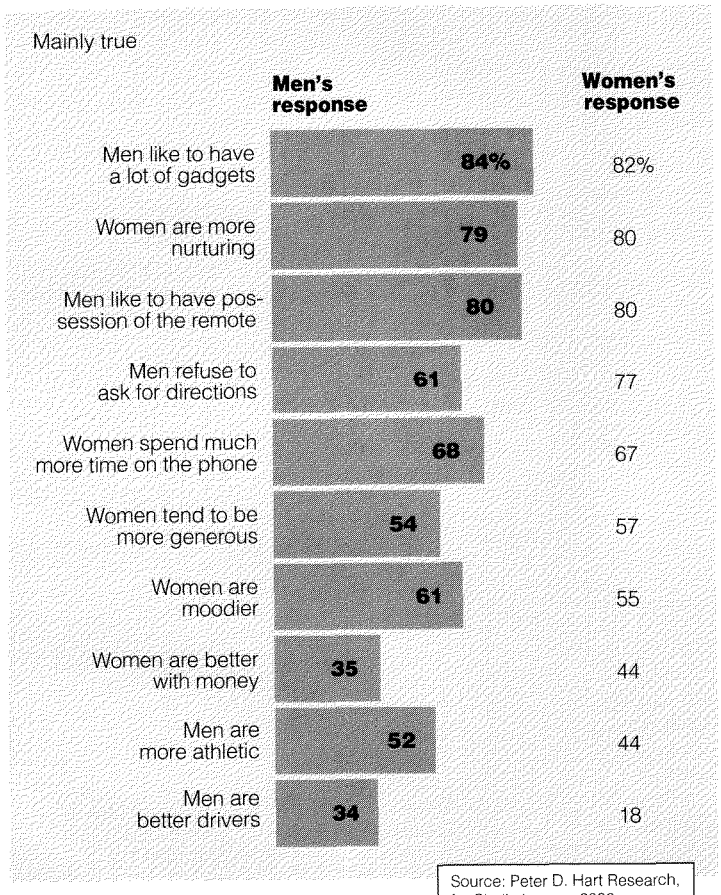
Men are more likely than women to be fans of professional baseball, football, golf, and auto racing. Men and women generally agree on stereotypes about the sexes. Large majorities of men and women say that men like gadgets and want to control the TV remote. Sixty-one percent of men believe the generalization that men don't ask for directions; even more women (77 percent) say that is true about men.

Question: Are you...?



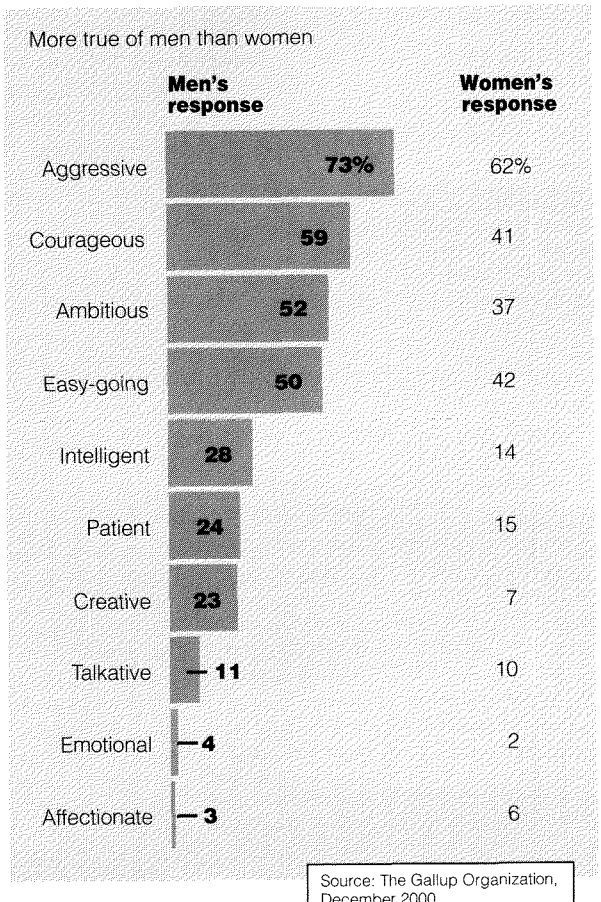
Note: The responses for baseball are based on four Gallup surveys conducted in 2001–2002.
Source: The Gallup Organization, March 2001.

Question: I'm going to read you a list of generalizations that people sometimes make about men and women, and for each one I would like you to tell me whether you think it is...?



Source: Peter D. Hart Research, for Shell, January 2000.

Question: I would like to ask about some specific characteristics of men and women. For each one I read, please tell me whether you think...?



Source: The Gallup Organization, December 2000.

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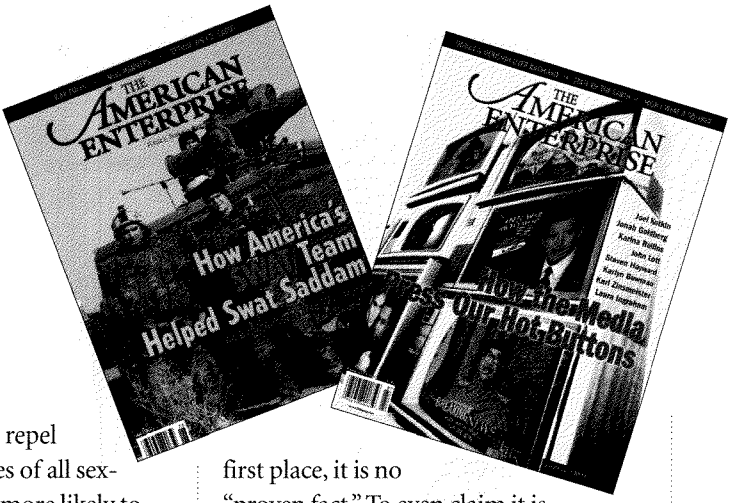
the Mail



As a former reporter and editor for the *Houston Chronicle* and *San Antonio Express-News,* as well as a former press relations manager for a major corporation, I applaud your July/August issue ("How the Media Press our Hot Buttons").

Over the years, I have watched the mainstream media degenerate into a gaggle of culturally illiterate, intellectually perverted, professionally corrupt left-wing propagandists thinly masquerading as journalists.

Marco Gilliam
San Antonio, Texas

Karina Rollins' "Doubt and Derision over Baghdad" (July/August) is biased against the actual truth of the war. Networks like NBC, CBS, FOX, and ABC are far from anything that could be considered liberal. They do little more than report the official White House line.

Ed Flynn
Montclair, New Jersey

Joel Kotkin ("Paths to Prosperity," July/August) inadvertently proves the point he's trying to refute. Kotkin takes issue with professor Richard Florida's claim that places with diverse populations and cultural life are likely to attract a "creative class" that develops high-value-added industries.

Kotkin argues that instead, higher growth is found in suburban areas with low housing costs that are attractive to families. But the examples he gives—places like California's Inland Empire and McAllen, Texas—are adding low-end jobs such as call centers, distribution, and manufacturing. Employers looking for the best talent know that an environment that is hostile to gays will repel many potential employees of all sexual orientations, and are more likely to locate in areas that are diversity-friendly.

That's why the Los Angeles region's creative sectors, such as financial services and entertainment, are located in L.A. itself rather than the Inland Empire. Kotkin also misses the connections within regional economies. The Inland Empire is growing fast because it services L.A.'s cutting-edge sector. There's no inevitable divide between family-friendly regions and creative ones.

Jay Weiser
Baruch College
New York, New York

I was more than a little disappointed with Jonah Goldberg's review of my recent book, *What Liberal Media?* ("Big Dumb Lie," July/August).

Attacking me for allegedly using guilt-by-association tactics, Goldberg says in the very next paragraph that I am in the old tradition of the Left, going back to the 1930s when American communists attacked the motives of their accusers rather than the veracity of the accusation. Talk about guilt by association!

He also writes that "at times it seems Alterman has never even heard that the [*New York*] *Times* exists, let alone that it is both extremely liberal and more influential than any other news organ." A quick perusal of my book's index shows 44 mentions of the *Times*. Goldberg also misleads his readers when he says I simply dismiss "the proven fact that the vast majority of journalists admit they are liberal." In the first place, it is no "proven fact." To even claim it is, is to misunderstand the meaning of the word "fact" since "liberal" is a descriptive adjective that is, to say the least, contested, and whose meaning is ever-changing. Virtually the entire second chapter of my book is devoted to examining where it's true and where it's false, and to taking apart the evidence for the claim.

His whopper of an ending is that "Somehow it doesn't occur to him, and the many other reporters in denial, that Fox News and Rush Limbaugh are giving Americans something they want very much and feel is missing from other media offerings" It occurs to me, um, that's why I wrote a book about it.

Eric Alterman
New York, New York

Jonah Goldberg replies: *Alterman is offended by, but does not deny, the accusation of guilt-by-association tactics. Polls of journalists and news consumers alike show they tend to believe the media are liberal. I am fully aware that Alterman spends a great deal of time in his book discussing when it's fair to call the press liberal and when it isn't. My point is that his perspective is so left-wing it's not surprising that he can't see the liberal biases so obvious to average Americans. Perhaps he will credit the conclusion of liberal media critic Tim Noah of the liberal* Slate *writing in the liberal* Washington Monthly: "*The* New York Times *and [NPR] are still identifiably liberal, though Alterman won't acknowledge it, possibly because Alterman's own political outlook is a little to their left. His book's most irritating omission is its failure to discuss these two news outlets at length.*"

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send e-mail to tae@aei.org. Or write "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax (202) 862-5867. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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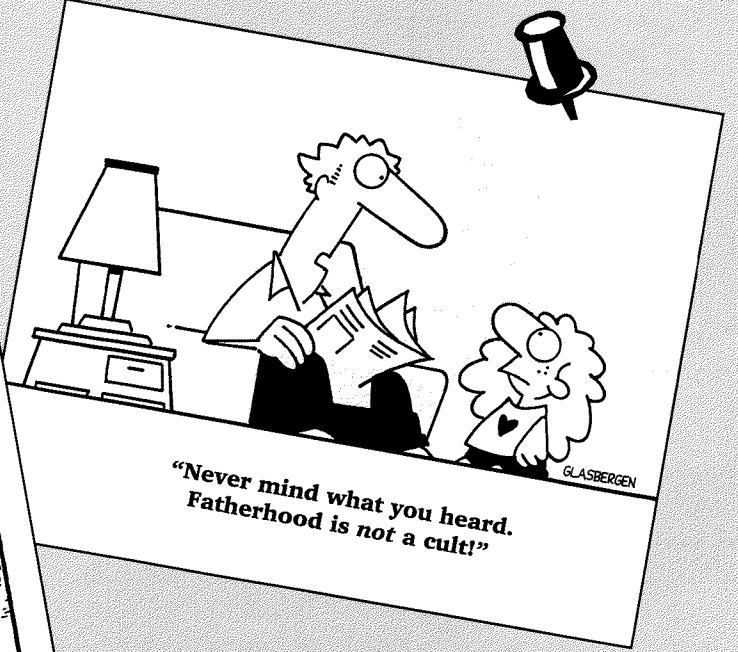
"Get lost! We're having girl talk."

"Have I ever told you how beautiful you are when you agree with me?"



"Never mind what you heard. Fatherhood is *not* a cult!"

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IF IT'S IMPORTANT, IT'S ON . . .

Think TANK

with

BEN WATTENBERG

Our viewers speak out

"Excellent program, thought stimulating, please continue your program as long as possible.

I really enjoyed your recent program on taxes. I really enjoy how Mr. Wattenberg can delve deeply into a subject yet keep the discourse comprehensible for those of us lacking PhDs, JDs, MDs, and the rest of the D's.

I am a 22 yr. old college student who loves your show! I watch almost every episode I can, and always am excited about what I will learn each time. I particularly appreciate Mr. Wattenberg's frank but fair manner with his guests.

Ben Wattenberg is my favorite TV personality. I have 'known' him all my life. If for some reason or another I miss his 9AM slot, I am truly disappointed. I cannot say the same for any other program. Best part? Diversity of subjects -- always interesting.

I thought the two-part show on the Western Cinema was innovative. Keep up your fine work and thank you for your program.

Your show on the future of U.S. and EU relations was fascinating. THINK TANK has become my favorite show. Keep up the excellent and thought-provoking work.

Loved the Easterbrook interview. The nicest thing about your show is that he had the time to impart a satisfying depth of information. Thank you for an excellent show. I'll have to watch it more often."

PBS

THINK TANK: THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS

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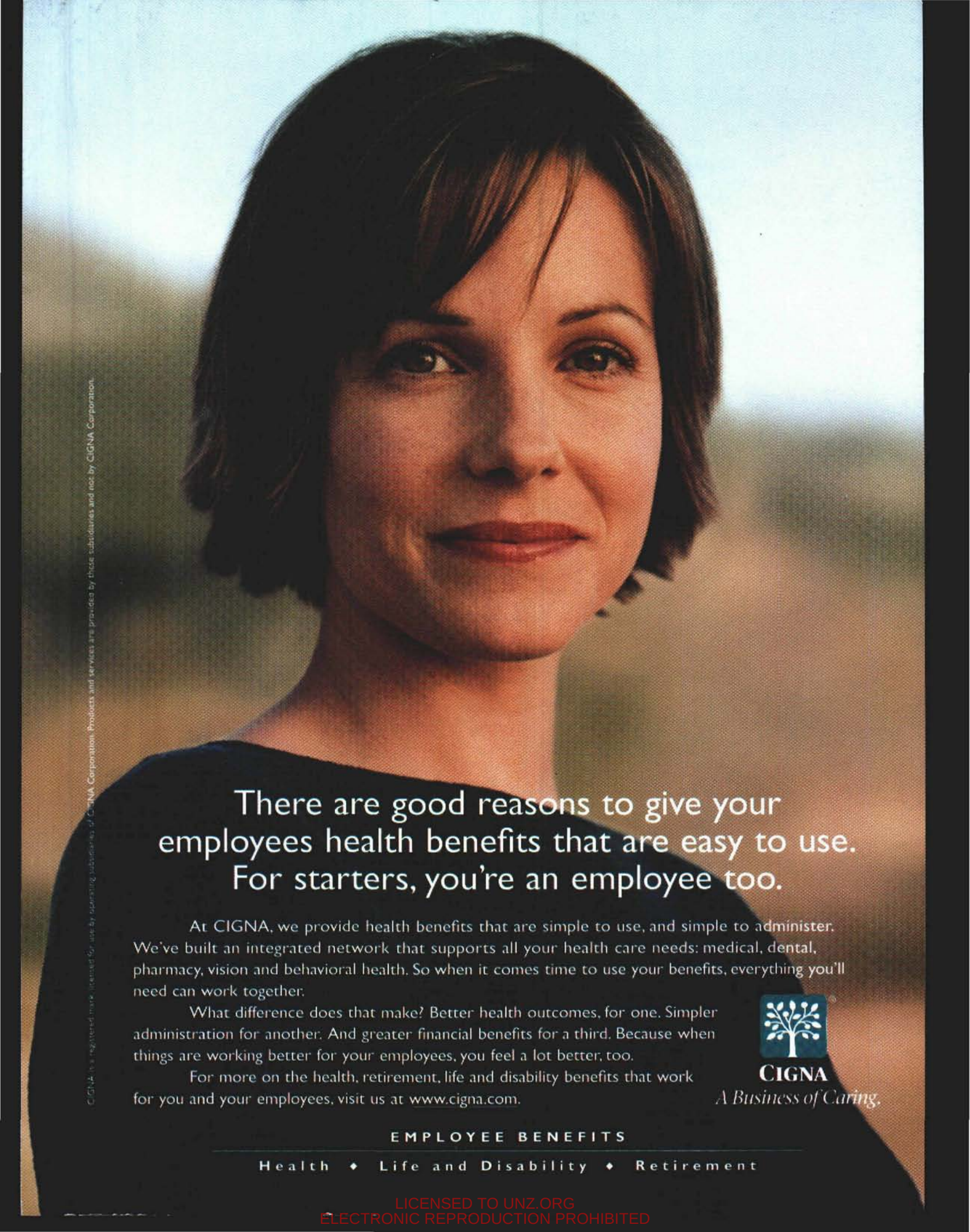

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